

THE CHRONIC DRUNKENNESS OFFENDER

CHAPTER VI

THE JAIL

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Project 52

Substudy 1-11, 24, 16, Si-67

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FOREWORD

The following report is one chapter in an extensive study of chronic drunkenness offenders in Ontario. The draft chapters, listed at the end of this volume, are being released for comment and criticism as they are completed.

The present chapter is primarily a study of the experience of chronic drunkenness offenders in the jail of Toronto, Canada. The assumption, and the hope, is that an analysis of the social system of one jail will yield insights into the role of the jail in the revolving door phenomenon that would be missed in a more discursive survey.

The starting point of this study was an examination of a sample comprised of 238 chronic offenders - defined as men with three or more convictions for public intoxication within 12 months - who served terms in the jail between November 1, 1960 and October 31, 1961. The men were given medical examinations, psychiatric examinations, a battery of psychological tests, and a lengthy interview extended over several periods. Part of the interview schedule was concerned with the men's jail experiences and their attitudes to various aspects of jail life.

As the interviews proceeded and the members of the research team became more familiar with the jail, we grew increasingly aware that the jail played a complex role in sustaining the revolving door pattern and on this account deserved special study. Mr. Samuel Sidlofsky, one of the interviewers, undertook to do supplementary interviews focussed on the jail experience with a cross-section of inmates. Combining the interview data with first hand observation, he prepared a manuscript: "The Role of the Prison Community in the Behaviour of the Chronic Drunkenness Offender", which he submitted to the University of Toronto as an M.A. dissertation in sociology.

PREFACE

The following report is one chapter in an extensive study of chronic drunkness offenders in Ontario. The draft chapters, listed at the end of this volume, are being released for comment and criticism as they are completed.

The present chapter is primarily a study of the experience of chronic drunkness offenders in the jail of Toronto, Canada. The assumption, and the hope, is that an analysis of the social system of one jail will yield insights into the role of the jail in the revolving door phenomenon that would be missed in a more descriptive survey.

The starting point of this study was an examination of a sample comparison of 100 chronic offenders - defined as men who have three or more convictions for public intoxication within 12 months - who served terms in the jail between November 1, 1960 and October 31, 1961. The men were given medical examinations, psychiatric examinations, a battery of psychological tests, and a lengthy interview extended over several periods. Part of the interview schedule was concerned with the men's jail experience and their attitudes to various aspects of jail life.

As the interview proceeded and the members of the research team became more familiar with the jail, we grew increasingly aware that the jail played a complex role in maintaining the revolving door pattern and on this point differed greatly from other studies. Mr. Samuel Gidycz, one of the interviewers, attempted to do supplementary interviews focused on the jail experience with a cross-section of inmates. Combining the interview data with first hand observation, he prepared a manuscript, "The Role of the Prison Community in the Behavior of the Chronic Drunkness Offender", which he submitted to the University of Toronto as an M.A. dissertation in sociology.

Mr. Gustav Oki, an interviewer who later became assistant director of the project, subsequently visited the jail several times a week for over 6 months to chat informally with inmates and the staff. One purpose of these visits was to supplement and check our observations of the jail social system, an interest which he also furthered through innumerable informal contacts with the men outside of jail.

The listing of the authors of this volume is alphabetical because the fruits of our efforts are so intertwined that any assessment of the relative contribution of each of us would be impossible. The final report, prepared by Mrs. Sylvia Lambert and myself, draws heavily on both Mr. Sidlofsky's study and on a separate report by Mr. Oki in which he incorporated his own observations and other information not previously available. The contributions to the over-all study by Dr. Daniel Hill, the original assistant director of the project, and many others, will be acknowledged in the introduction to the completed volume. The ultimate responsibility for shortcomings in the planning, supervision, and interpretation, is mine.

The research in the jail would not have been possible without the consent and active cooperation of the Ontario Department of Reform Institutions and in particular Mr. Leo Hackl (now Deputy Minister), of Mr. Donald Dougall, then Governor of the jail, and members of his staff. And last but not least, of the many inmates who allowed themselves to be examined and questioned in the hope that some better solution to their problems might be found.

P. J. Giffen,
Director,
Study of the
Chronic Drunkenness Offender.

Dr. Gustav Galt, an investigator who later became assistant director of the project, subsequently visited the jail several times a week for over 6 months to that time. The purpose of this visit was to establish an intimate relationship with the staff. The purpose of these visits was to establish and check our observations of the jail system, an interest which he also maintained through intimate contacts with the head outside of jail.

The listing of the authors of this volume is alphabetical. Between the first of our efforts and the introduction of any assessment of the relative contribution of each of us would be impossible. The three reports prepared by Dr. Evelyn Lambert and myself, have been included in both Dr. Lambert's study and on a separate report by Dr. Galt in which he incorporated his own observations and other information not previously available. The contribution to the study by Dr. Daniel Hill, the original assistant director of the project, and many others, will be incorporated in the introduction to the completed volume. The ultimate responsibility for shortcomings in the planning, execution, and interpretation is shared.

The research in the jail would not have been possible without the counsel and active cooperation of the Ontario Department of Reform Institutions and in particular Mr. J. G. (now Deputy Minister) of the Ontario Department of the Jail and members of his staff. But that was not enough, of the many inmates who allowed themselves to be examined and questioned in the hope that some better solution to their problems might be found.

Dr. J. Galt,
Director,
Study of the
Ontario Penitentiary System

CONTENTS

Foreword	II
1. Introduction	1
2. The Prison Setting	3
3. The Guardians of the Jail: The Jail Staff	8
4. The Social System of the Chronic Drunkenness Offender in Jail	15
5. Discussion	64
6. Appendix. Speaking for Themselves: Excerpts from Interviews	84
7. Bibliography	109
8. Research Reports (listed)	110

Tables

VI - 1 Inmate Work Structure: Don Jail	21
VI - 2 Offence Pattern for Six Years Prior to Study	26

CONTENTS

II	Foreword
1	1. Introduction
3	2. The Prison Setting
8	3. The Guards of the Jail: The Jail Staff
	4. The Social System of the Chronic Prisoners
12	Offender in Jail
24	5. Discussion
	6. Appendix: Speaking for Themselves
24	Excerpts from Interviews
102	7. Bibliography
112	8. Research Reports (listed)

Tables

VI - 1	Inmate Work Structures: Don Jail
VI - 2	Offense Pattern for Six Years
26	Prior to Study

Some guys like to be in jail. They're at home. I seen some guys come in here happy as a lord.

- Chronic Drunkenness Offender's comment.

It is admitted on all sides that the present mode of dealing with those arrested for drunkenness is not effectual as a means of preventing drunkenness and that as a means of reclaiming those who have become addicted to the excessive use of strong drink it is an utter failure. The imposition again and again of a paltry fine with the alternative of a few days, or a few weeks imprisonment, has no serious effect either reformatory or deterrent, and a cry against the continuance of this absurd system has arisen in every country in which drunkenness is prevalent.

- Report of the Commissioners
Appointed to Enquire into the
Prison and Reformatory System
of Ontario, 1891.
(Toronto: Legislative Assembly,
1891), p.106.

CHAPTER VI

THE JAIL

[How does jail contribute to the continuity of the revolving door system?] For most of us the natural, preferable way of life is the one we live as free agents in a free society. Jail represents something to be avoided either by obeying the laws or else by taking the calculated risk which transgressing the law involves, but with as many precautions against getting caught as possible.

Apart from the shame attached to being imprisoned, which is endemic to the middle classes, incarceration is considered by almost everyone of every class as the punishment which the State intends it to be. Punishment comes from stigmatization and from being removed from society, from one's home and family and friends; being deprived of freedom of movement and of normal sexual opportunities; and finally, being subjected to a certain amount of hardship while in jail.

Punishment by jailing is meant to be more than a form of retaliation: it is also considered to be a specific deterrent to those presently incarcerated, and a general deterrent to any would-be law breakers on the outside.

Jail has the further function of protecting society against dangerous criminals during their incarceration.

In the chronic drunkenness offender we are dealing with an individual who is not a law-abiding, productive member of society yet who does not fit the stereotype of the hardened penitentiary-type criminal; who seldom commits any very atrocious act against society, is more of a pest than a menace, and who usually serves sentences of no more than 60 days. His distinguishing characteristic is a constant repetition of his "crime" and his frequent imprisonment. The C.D.O.s life on the outside is chiefly concerned with the pursuit and consumption of alcohol. Although jail puts a temporary stop to his

drinking, it does not motivate him to escape the revolving door system in which he is caught up. In this chapter we will show how prison, far from acting as a deterrent, contributes significantly to continued recidivism.

The chronic drunkenness offender spends at least 142.2 days a year (38.9%) of his present life in jail on drunkenness offences.¹ Since his life on the outside is so involved with alcoholism, we might have expected jail to represent, at the very minimum, a period of frustrating delay before the next drink. However, as this study progressed, it became increasingly evident that jail did not represent merely a hiatus in the life of the chronic drunk, a blank sitting-out period between drinking sprees. Nor did it seem to perform any of the punishing functions normally associated with imprisonment. On the contrary, it appeared to provide the C.D.O. with a relatively satisfying and possibly necessary "other life".

In the sections that follow, the social system of the Metropolitan Toronto Jail (more commonly referred to as "the Don Jail" - a usage we will follow - or simply as "the Don"), will be described. Special attention will be paid to the roles and experiences of chronic drunkenness offenders within this system, in order to lend substance to the general conclusions stated above. The Don Jail may differ from many other jails in the extent to which it possesses the conditions for the development of a stable and fairly complex occupational system manned almost entirely by chronic drunkenness offenders. Since the differences are probably those of degree rather than kind, the case study of the Don Jail may serve to bring out in exaggerated form characteristics of the adjustment of chronic drunkenness offenders to all prisons, and also to make particularly evident certain potentials of these men in an institutional setting.

¹ The estimated average time for which the typical C.D.O. was sentenced annually over a 6-year period is 220 days, 168 days of which were for drunkenness. The average amount of incarceration avoided by payment of fines in full or in part has been deducted. The estimate of time spent in jail is a minimum because it does not include convictions in communities other than Toronto nor convictions for other offences.

THE PRISON SETTING

In the 12-month period of this study, 79 per cent of the sentences of Toronto chronic drunkenness offenders for public intoxication were served in the Don Jail, as compared to 16 per cent at Mimico Reformatory and 5 per cent at the A. G. Brown Memorial Clinic². Although no figures were obtained, the amount of time spent by the same men in other custodial institutions for other offences would appear to be relatively negligible.

The Don Jail is officially listed as having accommodation for 598 male prisoners (2). However, the population ranged from a low of 556 to a high of 868 during the period from April 1, 1960 to March 31, 1961, and 332 to 836 from April 1, 1961 to March 31, 1962. About 73 per cent of the prisoners are committed on non-indictable offences of which 76 per cent are drunk offences (2).

The total count of prisoners in the Don Jail fluctuates considerably due to seasonal variations in the rate of arrest and conviction of drunkenness offenders. One specific occasion when the prisoner population reaches an annual low is at Christmas time. A special and apparently traditional sentencing pattern exists in the Toronto drunk court where prisoners receive sentences which allow them to be released the day before Christmas or, in the event of the holiday falling on a Monday,³ two days before. This results in a temporary but sizeable drop in the inmate population, creating a manpower shortage in the jail's inmate housekeeping staff.

The summer period sees the jail count down, although never as low as the few days around Christmas; whereas the winter count is usually high. This summer decline is due chiefly to the exodus from the city to seasonal jobs of a substantial portion of the more transient Skid Row men, an exodus reflected in the decline in patronage of those missions, flophouses, and hostels that do not close for the summer. Since the truly chronic offenders are relatively immobile, and the occasional offenders are more likely to leave, this fluctuation does not usually create a shortage of workers in the jail.

² A treatment facility for incarcerated alcoholics operated by the Ontario Department of Reform Institutions.

³ On Saturday, December 23, 1961, there were 285 discharges.

The vicissitudes of climate may also help to account for the high count in the winter:

It's a good place to stay when its cold.
In the wintertime a lot [of Nova Scotians]
break in - that's what I call it - to
jail. They make it their business to get
arrested, either drunk or vag.

An event which occurred during the period of study illustrates the dependence of the jail on the C.D.O. work force. Following changes in legislation to permit magistrates to send chronic drunkenness offenders to a place of treatment, a new clinic was opened in the spring of 1961. For a short period prior to this a large proportion of the chronic offenders who appeared in court were sentenced to this facility in order to populate it for the official opening. It created a serious shortage of workers for over a month which the jail staff still talk about.

Further evidence that fluctuation in the jail population is mainly due to changes in the number of drunk offenders, is the observation that the change is always in the old wing of the jail where minor or petty offenders are housed. This population ranged, during the period of observation, from 190 to over 600. In addition, an examination of court calendars confirms that no major offence group fluctuates in size from season to season as much as the drunk court count.

Physical Structure

Physically, the Don Jail is made up of two sections, the new wing and the old wing. The new wing houses the administrative office, the kitchen, the "hole",⁴ the main visiting facilities and the women's quarters;

⁴ The place for solitary confinement.

the old section contains the admitting area, the infirmary, the showers and stores, the heating plant, the laundry, the staff lounge, service areas, and the "dome"⁵. Behind the building is the fenced-in exercise yard.

The New Section.

The facilities of the new wing of the Don Jail are vastly superior to those of the old section. To begin with, being new it is much cleaner than the old section. Facilities such as toilets and washbasins are not only more numerous but in far better condition. In the new section there are none of the overcrowded conditions that tend to exist in the old section; the single occupancy cells are nearly twice the size of the double occupancy cells in the old wing. On the debit side is the almost complete lack of ventilation: each part of the new section and each corridor within each part is completely isolated from each other section by doors (sometimes double doors) which block off each part. In summer the lack of ventilation makes conditions almost intolerable.

Generally the practice is to house those charged with indictable offences in the new wing for reasons of safe custody. Men who have served time in so-called maximum security prisons such as Kingston, have remarked that the security maintained in the new section of the Don Jail is far more rigid than that which they have encountered in those prisons.

A few inmates in the new section are in for non-indictable offences. These include men in the new wing hospital corridor, whose illness necessitates either special isolation or the highly individualized medical attention which they cannot obtain in the old section.⁶ In this group, at any given time, one would find one or more men who are in on a drunk offence, usually those with acute withdrawal symptoms (both alcohol and drugs). The other group of men in the non-indictable offences category found in the new wing, are corridor men. These are men who are given the job of taking care of the corridors; mopping, sweeping and serving meals.

⁵ Reception and admitting area prior to the addition of the new wing.

⁶ The jail policy is routinely to transfer prisoners to a general hospital if there is any evidence of a serious medical condition.

All female prisoners are housed in the new section but are physically separated so that in ordinary circumstances they have no contact with male inmates. The maximum accommodation for women was 93 in 1961, and the maximum count at any time was 87.

The Old Section

Accommodation is separated into 4 classifications in the old wing of the Don Jail: the corridors, the annexes, the dormitories and the Observation Ward.

The Corridors.- These are long halls with 15 to 25 separate cells or cubicles along one side. The corridors, of which there are 12, were originally intended as the area in which the men would spend their leisure time; the cells were meant to be used exclusively for sleeping, and to house a single occupant. Currently these cells sleep as many as 4 men and the corridors sleep prisoners on bedsprings which are stretched between benches, particularly in winter when the jail population is high. The men find this a particularly objectionable condition.

The corridors are further divided into "types" according to the kind of prisoner housed in them. One corridor is set aside for those men who are disabled but do not require hospitalization. They may be cripples and amputees but are usually younger than the men in No. 2 Annex. Another corridor is set aside for offenders under 21 years of age. One or two corridors, on any given day, are set aside for the men about to be discharged, and one or two are differentiated for the new inmates or "fish" as they are called. These two types of corridors change from day to day as does the total population in them.

One or two corridors are usually set aside for the working men - that is, men with no regular occupations who are, however, available for extra duty and the kind of cleaning that goes on continuously in jail. Any remaining corridors house men who do not fit into any of the above groups or the ones about to be described.

In all, the corridors accommodate anywhere from 280 to 420 men.

The Annexes.- There are three areas known as the annexes. No. 1 Annex is on the second floor. This is the best accommodation in the jail, consisting of one big room with individual beds. It is reserved for the men who hold the most favoured work positions - the governor's men, the barbers, and the tea-room men (see Table VI-1), housing 4 - 8 men at any one time.

No. 2 Annex, located on the third floor front, comprises three large rooms containing 10 to 12 single beds each or, if the population count is high, a similar number of double bunks. This annex houses older men who are considered to be too physically infirm or unfit for employment in jail and those whose temperaments are considered too obstreperous or too apathetic to make them good worker material. The men in No. 2 Annex have relative freedom in that they can move about and interact with the men in their room. Usually a number of men are to be found lying in bed, sleeping, resting, or reading, while the remainder are sitting around talking or playing cards.

No. 3 Annex is on the floor above No. 2 Annex and is physically similar to it. However, the occupants are considered employable, are younger, more active and cooperative men, and are usually members of the middle status work crews.

The Dormitories.- These are 4 large rooms, some of them converted halls by appearance, containing 10 beds each. They house men who work in the kitchen and the boiler-room, and some of the work crews such as the carpentry, the paint, or garden crews. The men in the dormitories tend to be younger, cooperative men in good physical condition, who have relatively more freedom than the occupants of Nos. 2 and 3 Annexes. At any one time men will be found sleeping in the dormitories, since many of the work crews work in round-the-clock shifts.

Both the annexes and the dormitories house the regulars in the jail population; that is, the chronic drunkenness offenders.

The Observation Ward.- This is a large room completely devoid of any furniture. The beds are

mattresses on the floor with blankets on them.⁷ The occupants (usually 3 to 8) are men who have been committed tentatively for mental observation by the courts, or else in the light of their condition or behaviour on their arrival in jail, are placed there at the decision of the jail authorities. Men with delirium tremens are seldom put in the Observation Ward: they are usually made to sweat it out in the corridors or, in extreme cases, sent to the hospital in the new wing. Usually any case arriving in jail requiring medical attention is sent either to one of the downtown hospitals, if the illness appears to be serious, or to one of the jail's two "hospital wards" adjoining the corridors. Acute withdrawal symptoms, as we mentioned earlier, tend to be treated in the hospital corridor of the new wing.

Thus we see a definite segregation in the jail community which is determined partly by the facilities available and partly by the type of prisoner doing time in jail. This segregation is highly significant for the smooth operation of the jail and also in relation to the experiences of the inmates themselves while they serve their sentences. It means that most of the interaction of drunkenness offenders is with the staff and with men like themselves.

THE GUARDIANS OF THE JAIL: THE JAIL STAFF

The members of the jail staff are the long-term guardians of the chronic drunkenness offenders when the other functionaries of the law have done with them. Since the arrest and the trial are perfunctory, impersonal processes, the contacts of the men with the police and the courts are brief and episodic. In contrast, the staff of the jail have authority over the men for weeks at a time. It is they who see to it that the inmates do not regain their freedom before the authorized time is up, order them about from day to day, and witness the personal humiliation which comes with loss of freedom. One would expect the dislike and mistrust of the police, the feeling of disgust

⁷ A condition dictated by the presence of men believed to be potentially suicidal.

and injustice engendered by the handling the C.D.O.s receive in what they frequently term the "kangaroo court", to be carried over and accentuated in relation to the disciplinarians with whom they are in constant contact. To an outside observer, the jail staff would appear to be the ultimate, the real punishers.

In actual fact, the relationship between the staff from the governor right down through to the guards - some 200 to 225 persons at the time of the study period - and the chronic offenders, is extraordinarily complaisant. This is evident from the time of the C.D.O.'s admission to the jovial, "So long - see you again soon" farewell at release. The C.D.O. is processed differently from other offenders when he arrives in jail: certain procedures such as examinations and search are frequently minimized or waived, and a routine classification and allocation further hasten an expeditious settling-in. In fact, much of the processing is likely to be done by their peers, as it is mainly C.D.O. inmates who work in the admitting section. The implication of the treatment at this stage is that the C.D.O. has "come home". His old quarters await him and his old job will probably be available to him, perhaps even held open for him.

The guards' attitude toward prisoners is determined to a great extent by the nature of the crime for which the prisoner is convicted, the extent of his recidivism, and whether he has yet been sentenced. The man awaiting trial or sentence (unless he has a reputation as a criminal) is likely to be treated with reserved consideration, as is the "square John".⁸ The offenders convicted of a serious crime, especially one involving violence against others, will receive sterner treatment and there is often a mutual antipathy between such prisoners and the staff. With the

⁸ A "square John" is a person who typically subscribes to the norms of the dominant society; he is not identified as a member of an offender group. He is likely to be in jail for a traffic offence. It is not uncommon to use "square Johns" as temporary replacements for C.D.O.s in certain high status jobs. Both the staff and the C.D.O.s justify this policy as a means of providing these civilians with as pleasant and non-contaminating an experience as possible.

recidivist, the staff tend to develop a more familiar and even friendly relationship. The C.D.O. as a recidivist of long standing and as one convicted of what is construed as a not very serious offence, is received by the staff with the greatest acceptance of all the groups. An easy, informal relationship and a mutual tolerance come to exist between the two. The fact that the C.D.O. does feel at home in jail is due in great part to the manner in which he is treated by the staff.

Most of the staff perceive their role in relation to the chronic offender as an accepting one, as witnessed by the following statements:

Yes, they're damn good workers and cause no trouble at all. They do as they're told all the time. In fact most of them know enough so you don't even have to tell them anything. They just come in and fit right in.

Yeah, it's a shame that they can't be like this [referring to their model behaviour as inmates] on the outside. They work hard and get along so good in here but they can't stay out of trouble on the outside.

A few individual staff members, who are the exceptions, adopt a rejecting attitude towards the C.D.O.s. This appears to vary from a reasoned belief that making jail pleasant for them contributes to the revolving door system, to an active dislike of the chronic drunks and a disgust at their way of life. Whatever the source of the rejecting attitude, it tends to be allied with the conviction that C.D.O.s are treated too leniently, as exemplified by the following statement:

I mean about being too easy on the guys, even the workers in the jail. I'm keeping T---- out of the tea-room because he was abusing his place there. It got so he wouldn't serve tea to certain guards that he didn't like and he

would argue with a lot of them. Now he's talking to other staff about getting back to the tea-room and some of them have come to me about it. I don't know how long I'll be able to keep him up in the corridor but he'll stay up there this sentence as far as I'm concerned. I know he's taking it pretty hard, but then that's what I intended. We're far too easy on all these guys. A few of them work real hard but even these guys are treated too easy. I would make all the able-bodied men scrub floors 4 or 5 hours a day and I bet a lot of them wouldn't come back so often. Look at the young, healthy guys who work in the kitchen. There's no reason why they can't work outside. Of course, one of the main reasons we have so many of these drunks in here is because they don't have anybody. If they had a family or somebody else to live for and work for it would make a big difference.

The staff members who actively dislike the C.D.O.s tend to be the younger, more recently recruited men. Experience has shown that those who do not leave because they find the work uncongential are likely, with the passage of time, to come to share the generally tolerant attitude to C.D.O.s that prevails in the jail.

The naked exercise of authority by staff members without apparent concern for the feelings of those ordered about is the type of behaviour that the C.D.O.s are most likely to label objectionable. The "good" guard is one who asks politely instead of ordering brusquely. The "bad" guard makes manifest the lowly and powerless status of the inmates and thus threatens their precarious self-esteem.

Some guards are rotten guys ... wouldn't give you a civil answer. He doesn't talk like a man to you; looks down at you like an animal in a cage.

I dislike the extreme fellows who are too strict. They show too much authority; don't live and let live. The good ones don't show their authority. They can tell you to do something without barking at you.

From the viewpoint of the C.D.O.s, guards may also err in the other direction - they may show a poor opinion of the C.D.O.s by treating them offhandedly as objects of humour.

They're alright except for the comedians - the guards who are always happy. You're not happy about going to jail but they seem happy to see you and welcome you to jail. It's very small of them to joke at our expense. Most people treat drunks with very little respect, almost with contempt, you might say.

However, most of the staff seem to strike a happy medium in their treatment of the chronic offenders which is sufficiently firm but sufficiently humanistic to satisfy the interests of both sides. The common relationship combines empathy based on extended face-to-face interaction and mutual advantage, which adds a stabilizing element. Without the cooperation of the staff the unofficial rewards system would cease to exist; without the cooperation of the C.D.O.s the day-to-day running of the jail would be difficult. The staff have greater power to alter the relationship but no particular desire to do so (except for the odd individuals as mentioned), since the C.D.O. labour force contributes so effectively towards the efficient operation of the jail.

The members of the staff in charge of work details, ("crew chiefs"), have a particularly strong interest in maintaining cooperative relations. Like lower-level supervisors in industry they are officially responsible for the accomplishment of work goals but they lack official sanctions of sufficient strength and flexibility to ensure fully the required effort on the part of those they command.

The possibilities of subtle sabotage are too numerous to make feasible an exclusive reliance on surveillance and formal punishment. In order to get voluntary cooperation they must make various small concessions, many of which have the significance of rewards to their workers.

The sanctions used by the staff imply a recognition of the importance of the occupational reward system to the chronic offenders. Undesirable conduct may be punished by demoting the offender to the scrub bucket detail. Conversely, the possibility of attaining a higher status job can be manipulated as a reward.

A further sanction which the staff is empowered to use and which may be a positive or negative one depending on the prisoner and his status in jail, is deciding whether a prisoner is to be sent to Mimico Reformatory or kept at the Don Jail. Although most C.D.O.s state a preference for Mimico since it has such obvious advantages as free tobacco, better recreational facilities and greater freedom of movement, nevertheless they do not always choose to go there if given the opportunity. For individuals in high status positions in the Don Jail such advantages are more than cancelled out, so that being sent to Mimico would be experienced as a negative sanction; whereas a man in a low status job, such as that of scrubbing corridors, would probably find it a positive sanction. Because of their personal knowledge of the chronic drunkenness offenders, experienced members of the staff can gauge which type of punishment and reward will be most effective in individual cases.

(The staff's informal and generally kindly treatment of the C.D.O.s appears to contribute positively to the self-image of individual staff members. Their relationships with most other prisoners are impersonal and even, at times, sternly disciplinarian; this comes close to the public image of which they are, of course, aware. The more humanistic relationship with the C.D.O.s provides a type of role compensation that appears to be reassuring.)

The Other Prisoners

Although the chronic drunks are housed separately from the other inmates, they come into limited contact with them through their work activities. The picture of the

C.D.O. in jail as a conforming, hard-working person who not only fits into but actually likes jail, is held by the other inmates. The true criminal offender, who considers himself superior, holds either a condescending attitude or an outright critical one. The critical, even contemptuous attitude, is based on censure of the C.D.O.'s cooperation and compliance with the institution's law and order, and a disdain for his dependence on and loss of control over alcohol.

They call us winos, sit around and say, "I wouldn't be a sucker to work around here", wisecracking about us. Call us winos, rubbydubs.

It hurts a man when he's called "rubby", "drunk", "tramp". Never heard a guard call a man those names.

The "square John" prisoner also recognizes the chronic offenders as the "operators" of the jail and feels that they like what they are doing. The square Johns, however, tend to approve of the role, feeling it compensates for the parasitic life the men lead on the outside.

The chronic drunkenness offender (except for the occasional C.D.O. with a serious criminal record, who is least conforming of the group) appears to be unaffected in his behaviour by the adverse criticism of the other inmates, in part because there is little informal interaction between the chronic drunks and the other inmates, and in part because he discounts their criticism.

You hear them cracking "just a drunk". That don't bother me because they're in for something they should be more ashamed of than I am.

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE CHRONIC DRUNKENNESS OFFENDER IN JAIL

The separate identity of the chronic drunkenness offender group in jail is established not only by their belonging to the C.D.O. group on the outside and by their numerous, short-term sentences, but by their behaviour in jail. With their own set of norms, differentiation of status, vertical mobility, roles and traditions, they have evolved a social system in jail which is much less amorphous and primitive than the parallel social system to which they belong outside. This social system is both circumscribed and shaped by the formal rules and regulations of the jail, by the jail setting and by the characteristics of the chronic drunkenness offenders themselves. For instance, without the work requirements of the jail there would be little more differentiation of status than on the outside and most of the distinctive norms of behaviour would be inoperable. At the same time, the passivity and aversion to overt aggression which seems to characterize many C.D.O.s (see Chapter XV) make it possible for them to assume their work roles, to establish satisfactory relationships with the staff, and to develop patterns of reciprocity in their relations with each other.

Although this is a social system possessing both stratification and the possibility for vertical mobility, it differs from many other social systems by a marked absence of competition and overt status-seeking among its members. Movement appears to occur more from external prompting than manifest striving.

It differs from the dominant social system outside in that status is affected little by such attributes as education, race, religion, ethnic origin, physical appearance, or pre-C.D.O. achievements. In addition, individual differences found in the outside C.D.O. social system, such as where a person lives, eats, sleeps, his occupation, or how he gets his money, have no relevance to and consequently no effect on the inside social system. It is a system in which status depends largely on behaviour contained within the system and one, therefore, that approaches equality of opportunity within a very circumscribed scale of rewards.

Status Determinants

The chronic drunkenness offender's place in the inmate social system is determined by such primary factors as occupational status, relations with the staff, relations with fellow inmates, and membership seniority. The only aspect of pre-C.D.O. achievement that influences status, and then only slightly, is previous penitentiary experience.

Occupational Status.- The occupation which the chronic offender holds in the work structure of the jail is the most tangible of the status determinants. The higher his work position, the higher his rank in the jail social system. The system of occupational roles is discussed in detail below.

Relations with the Staff.- More correctly, this might be termed accommodation to the official jail system, its rules and its staff. In contrast to the prevailing standards of the criminal section in jail, where behaviour is oriented towards the least possible amount of cooperation with the regulations and with the guards, amongst C.D.O.s it is considered desirable, and adds to one's status to have a reputation for being cooperative with the staff. The more accommodating, the higher the status within and up to certain acceptable bounds.

Inmate-staff interaction must stop short of sycophancy or "suck-holing" on the part of the C.D.O. "Brown-nosing", yet another term for overstepping the bounds, is offensive to men and staff alike. This taboo reflects standards of self-respect that are current in the larger society, but tend to be accentuated in authoritarian systems, such as the army or the prison, where the temptation is greatest. Also, it may be that accommodating behaviour carried to the extreme of brown-nosing threatens the whole unofficial system of rewards by calling attention to it. The danger of breaching the fiction of official ignorance is expressed in the following statement of an inmate:

We save some tea in a jam pail and heat it by running the hot water tap in the sink. Make our own "jug up". The guards don't say anything. We don't do it right in front of them but they know what's going on.

Relations with Fellow Inmates.- A very important factor in establishing the chronic drunkenness offender's place in the inmate social system is the extent to which he observes the norms defining acceptable interaction with other C.D.O.s. Many of those norms relate directly to the C.D.O.s' work roles in the jail work system. They transcend the work system but are reinforced by it.

The operative norms are: cooperation, not just with the staff but amongst one another; sharing, which is as important a norm in the inside social system as it is outside; and reciprocity, which implies an expected and specific return of the favour. Reciprocity is not as universal or definite inside as out because the items to be reciprocated are not as available and opportunities to obtain them are differentially distributed, but it includes a wider range of goods and services. Outside, reciprocity is mainly confined to alcohol and the means of securing it.

Those few chronic offenders who do not observe these norms either possess incompatible personality characteristics or else they are marginal to the system, probably because of recent experiences as more serious criminals in long term, maximum security prisons.

Of 237 chronic drunkenness offenders who were given a psychiatric assessment, 43.9 per cent were classified as passive-aggressive and 11.8 per cent neurotic depressive (Chapter XV, pp. 16 and 18). Many of the remaining men also tend to be passive and unemotional. Most of them, therefore, are not likely to be rebels, not likely to be boisterous or obstreperous, but very likely to fall in quietly with the jail's rules and regulations and with the informal norms. A person who is noisy or troublesome, who in any way disturbs the equanimity of the setting, is very much disliked, as the following quotations indicate:

Either making too much noise, cursing, swearing, everything is wrong in the jail except him. If a guard asks him to do something he thinks is too much, right away he becomes No. 1 on his list as a prick guard.

Yea, he's always causing trouble. He's the same outside, too.

Like if you get a bunch of loud mouth guys in the corridor they can make it hard. Like at scrubbing time they might hold back and the other guys are doing their work. A lot of guys try to do their own time and your time, too. Bugging you in different ways...I just like to do my own time.

Membership Seniority.- A man who has been in and out of jail for drunkenness over a number of years receives a certain amount of deference as an "old timer" or "regular". He becomes a repository of folklore and advice and may be the instrument for communicating disapproval of a deviant's behaviour. He must, of course, have had his place in the social system in the past to have any status as an old timer.

At the other extreme, the neophyte or "punk" is often regarded with hostility because of his rambunctiousness. If he is not separated from the older C.D.O.s he may be shunned by them.

Us old-timers know the score, but you take some of these young fellows, they always holler about little things; they don't get along with the inmates, either. We just leave him alone; don't talk to him. When you're in the same corridor you can't do much about it.

Penitentiary Experience.- A C.D.O. who has been in penitentiary has some prestige in the eyes of other C.D.O.s even if he is marginal to the cooperative system. Fairly strong antagonistic feelings towards the law and the agents of enforcement are shared by the C.D.O.s, even the almost 40 per cent of them who have had no convictions for indictable offences (Chapter X). Hence, it is regarded as an achievement to have acted out hostility to authority through

criminal behaviour and to have participated in the hostile culture of "big-time losers" in penitentiary. The prestige gained from this past achievement is not sufficient in itself to ensure high status in the jail, but with the passage of time most "big-time losers" do modify their behaviour to fit the C.D.O. social system with the result that the penitentiary reputation simply augments the prestige derived from the present occupation and conformity to norms.

The Inner Core: The Jail Work Structure

The inmate work system is the vital core of the chronic drunkenness offender social system. It promotes interaction among the men, keeps them busy, gives them status and provides rewards. The work structure influences their leisure activities and their sleeping and eating habits, and utilizes and enhances those characteristics we have mentioned which operate to give the C.D.O. status in the overall social system.

The inmate work structure of the Don Jail is initially established by the laws and regulations governing different classes of prisoners. For example, prisoners cannot be made to work unless and until they have been convicted, sentenced, and imprisoned, and the labour must be consistent with the enactments and rules of the institution (3, p.213).

In the Don Jail the rule normally requires that all prisoners sentenced to a term in this jail who are fit to work do in fact engage in some labour. Those who are formally excluded from work are the non-sentenced prisoners (those awaiting trial or sentence, those on appeal of conviction or sentence, and those under observation for mental examination) and some sentenced prisoners awaiting transfer to penitentiaries or reformatories.

The effective maintenance of the jail is carried out by approximately 125 to 150 inmates who comprise the work group. The specific duties are listed in Table VI - 1, with the normal and presumably necessary complements of men for each. We have grouped the jobs in classes (A,B,C,D,X) for purposes of analysis according to the prestige that they have in the C.D.O. social system.

It can be seen that the top ranking jobs of governor's men, guardroom men and barbers (with the exception of the inmate barber) are ones in which the men serve the jail staff rather than the inmates. They are positions of considerable trust and apart from such material rewards as better sleeping accommodation, special food and gifts of cigarettes, the men holding these positions have much more freedom of movement, even being sent on errands outside of the jail building. The engineers and kitchen whites, in the next grouping, do not have the same close contact with the staff and, therefore, are not at the centre of the communication system. Their rewards are not as many or varied as the top group but nevertheless are considerable in terms of better accommodation and extra food.

When we discuss in detail the differential rewards of working, we will see that all of the special jobs receive rewards of some kind, differing mostly in quantity, kind, and quality; e.g. cigarettes as above "makings" as above "butts".

TABLE VI - 1

INMATE WORK STRUCTURE: DON JAIL

Occupation	Description of Duty	No. of Men	Supervisor
A 1 Governor's men	House boys for the Governor and the Deputy-Governor (also help in the tea-room).	2	Governor Deputy-Governor
A 2 Tea-room (or guardroom) gang	Serving tea or lunch to the guards and supervising and serving the lunch room.	2 to 4	Lieutenant on duty
A 3 Barbers	1 barber for the staff (also helps in tea-room). 1 barber for the inmates.	2	Lieutenant on duty
B 4 Engineers	Looking after and operating the boiler room.	4-morning shift 2-afternoon shift 2-night shift	Engineer (civilian)
B 5 Chef's men ("kitchen whites")	Butchers, bakers, cooks and men who serve the food onto the plates.	8 to 16	Guard
C 6 Stores	Assist the steward in looking after the clothes of the prisoners and also the distribution and care of prison clothing.	2 to 4	The Steward
C 7 Showers	Responsible for issuing clothes to prisoners as they change from their civilian to jail garb.	3 to 4	Guard

TABLE VI - 1 (cont'd.)

Occupation	Description of Duty	No. of Men	Supervisor
C 8 Garden Gang	Includes looking after the garden and also landscaping, cement work and anything pertaining to maintaining the outside appearance of the jail.	2 to 10	Guard
C 9 Paint Crew	Includes anything in the line of painting, both inside and outside of the jail.	4 to 12	Guard
C 10 Laundry	Doing the laundry for the whole jail; includes all laundry except prisoners' own personal clothing.	9 to 11	Guard
C 11 Maintenance	General maintenance, mainly miscellaneous repairs inside and out.	2 to 8	Guard
C 12 Carpentry	Carpentry - usually rough, inside and out.	2 to 6	Guard
D 13 Cooks' men ("kitchen blues")	Taking the food all around the jail, distributing spoons and also returning the dishes and spoons back to the kitchen. It also includes a group that does nothing but clean the kitchen.	12 to 25	Guard
D 14 Garbage detail	Collect garbage from corridors, etc.	2 to 4	Guard

TABLE VI - 1 (cont'd.)

Occupation	Description of Duty	No. of Men	Supervisor
D 15 Corridor men	Keeping corridors clean and orderly and being available for various menial duties as requested by the guard in charge of the corridor and also to act as janitor of special sections such as the annexes, the hospitals and the Dome.	18 to 24	The particular guard responsible for each area.
D 16 Orderlies	Men acting as hospital orderlies who work in the hospital in the new wing, the observation ward in the old wing, or the infirmary.	4 to 8	The guard in charge of each unit.
D 17 X-Ray room	To assist the X-Ray technician.	1	X-Ray technician
X Cleaners	To clean the various parts of the new wing including the administrative offices.	8 to 12; Generally the members of this work crew are young offenders, under the age of 21, but occasionally one of the older chronic drunkenness offenders is included in this crew.	Special guard

Selection of Workers

The system employed by the jail staff in selecting and assigning inmates to jobs is informal and unofficial. It is based on the particular numerical and occupational needs of the jail at any given time and on the staff's ability to select the men best suited to the jobs. The complement of workers necessary to operate the jail properly, and the duties involved, have been relatively well-established over time. But how are individuals chosen who will perform the tasks quietly and ably and with a minimum of time wasted in learning?

The employable population in the Don Jail from which the men are selected is reduced to the healthy, short-term prisoners. An approximate estimate of their numbers is: with a high population of 790, 460 (58%) are employable; with an average population of 584, 325 (56%)⁹ are employable; with a low population of 297, 75 (25%) are employable. (Since 75 is below the minimum number required for maintenance, it is not surprising that one C.D.O. should comment: "A while back the count was low and I heard one of the guards say, "We need more drunks in here to run the jail".) To facilitate selection, the employables are housed in certain areas of the jail, the unemployables in another, and the currently employed in yet other designated areas. This clearly establishes where to locate potential workers. Continuous lists of work groups are maintained by the staff member in charge of the particular worker or group of workers and by the sergeant on duty. The list is also kept in the staff office on the inmate roster board and at the front desk in the administrative office. Thus, the worker situation is known to all concerned.

The employable group is comprised of two kinds of offender: those in on liquor and related offences and those in on traffic offences. The liquor offenders make

⁹ It is clear that the employable population fluctuates more than any other large group.

up two-thirds of this group and of these 60 per cent are chronic offenders. Since the C.D.O.s constitute considerably more than 60 per cent of those chosen for the jobs listed in Table VI - 1, numbers alone are not an adequate explanation of their predominant role in the jail work force.

Their pattern of recidivism, the prevailing sentencing pattern practised by the Toronto drunk court, and the type of offence which the C.D.O. commits - together with the actual work performance - all combine to make the C.D.O. the worker of choice. "I don't think it [the Don Jail] would operate with no drunks," one C.D.O. stated. "The security would have to be tighter if they used others for the work. The majority of drunks, when they're off the booze, are more sensible, experienced, and know what's going on."

Pattern of Recidivism. - The outstanding feature of this pattern is the regularity with which most chronic drunkenness offenders are incarcerated. No other male offender group is as recidivistic in terms of number of convictions per unit of time. Intervals spent on the outside average less than one month; for the period preceding present incarceration, 56 per cent were out two weeks or less and 75 per cent one month or less. This pattern is repeated year after year and new C.D.O.s constantly replenish the pool. Hence, these men represent a remarkably stable and reliable work force for the jail. Paradoxically, the drinking behaviour that makes them unreliable as employees in the outside world, makes them valuable to the jail because they can be relied upon to return to the job regularly. It is significant that the term "regulars" is used in the jail to refer to the hard-core of recidivists, and even more frequently to denote the specialized workers.

Such constant attendance in jail also means that the chronic offenders and their abilities become

well known to the staff:

Guys who come in here so often they get the same jobs. In the office, bakeshop, boiler room. For instance, myself, as soon as I come in the word goes up to the painter boss and he calls me up.

Offence and Sentencing Pattern.- Most criminal offences committed by chronic drunkenness offenders tend to be minor. One hundred and eleven of our sample of 285 have had no convictions for indictable offences. Eighty-eight had a criminal career prior to their becoming C.D.O.s. Of these, 28 served penitentiary sentences (2 years or more). Of the 86 whose criminal career commenced simultaneously with or subsequent to repeated drunkenness convictions, only one had served a penitentiary sentence, indicating the relatively petty nature of criminal activities once a person becomes a C.D.O.

We looked specifically at the illegal behaviour for which the chronic drunkenness offenders were convicted and sentenced in the 6 years prior to the study and found further evidence of both the petty nature of their offences and the correspondingly short (term) sentences.

Table VI - 2 shows that 92.2 per cent of the sample have done only "short bits"¹⁰, including 60.3 per cent who have had no convictions for indictable offences during this period of time. The 40 per cent who were convicted of indictable offences were mainly up on a theft charge. The tendency is for the thefts to be minor ones (typical C.D.O. "booster" trying to raise the price of a bottle of wine).¹¹ The sentences on conviction are light, as indicated by the fact that only 1 out of 5 convictions resulted in sentences of 6 months or more. Occasionally the Court will impose a longer sentence on the basis of an extensive record of petty thefts.

¹⁰ Sentences of 6 months or less are usually termed "short" by the C.D.O.s.

¹¹ Seventy-five cents at the time of the study.

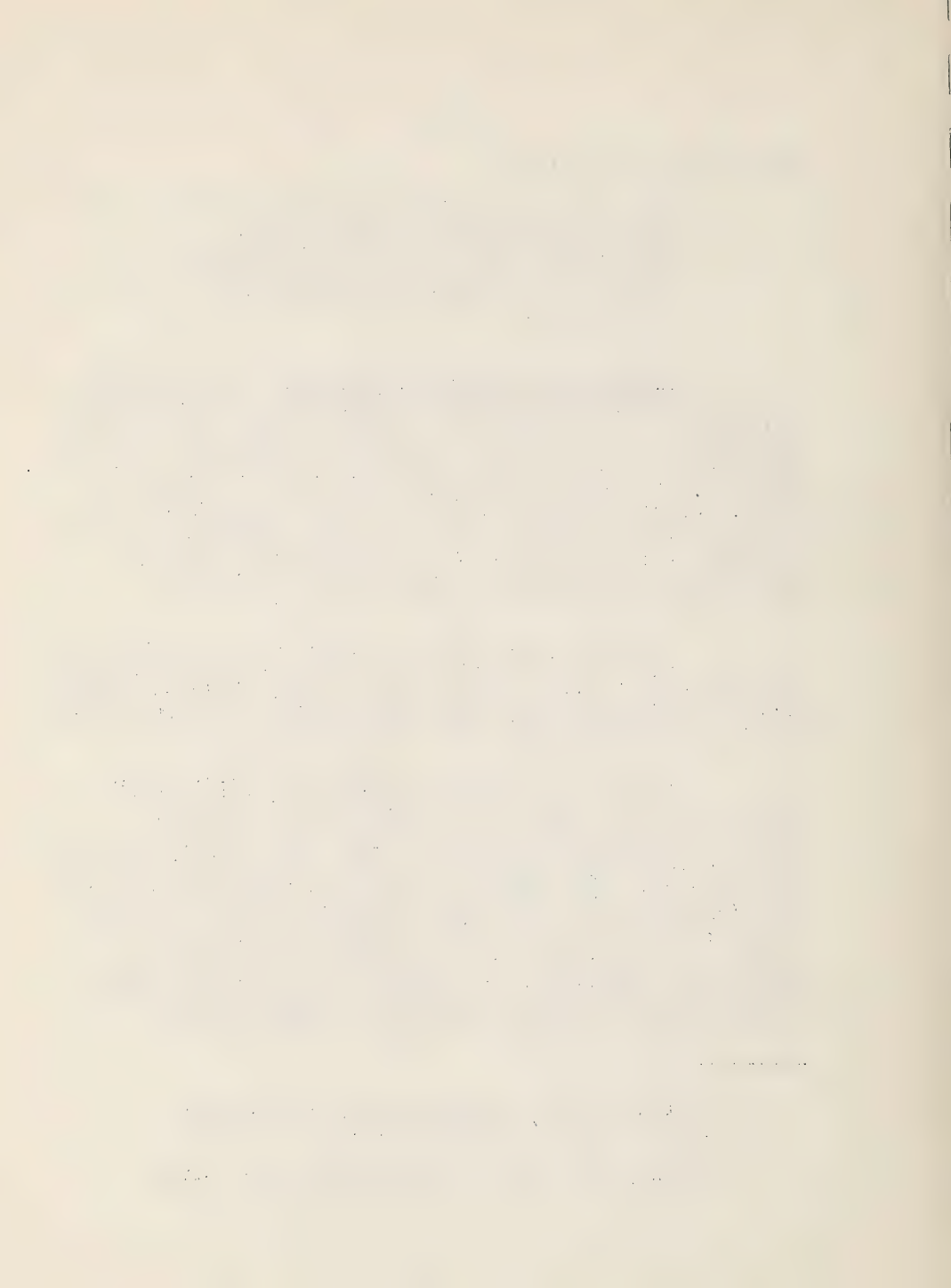


TABLE VI - 2

OFFENCE PATTERN FOR SIX YEARS PRIOR TO STUDY
(6 years prior to entry in sample)

Pattern	Number	Per Cent
Drunkenness only	49	17.2
Drunkenness and other B.L.C.A. ^a	40	14.0
B.L.C.A. and related ^b	83	29.1
B.L.C.A. and indictable (sentences under 6 months)	91	32.0
B.L.C.A. and indictable (sentences up to 1 year)	9	3.2
B.L.C.A. and indictable (sentences up to 2 years, less 1 day)	5	1.8
B.L.C.A. and indictable (sentences 2 years and over)	8	2.8
Total	285	100.1

^a Breach of the Liquor Control Act.

^b Related offences are mainly common
vagrancy (Vag.A), begging (Vag.B),
and railway trespass.

The established sentencing pattern for drunkenness is well fitted to jail requirements. For example, the prevailing sentence (at the time of the study) of 30 to 40 days for 3 or more offences within 12 months means the jail retains sufficient numbers of men from which to select effective workers. Longer sentences, such as 3 months or more, which would result in a substantial number of transfers to provincial institutions, occur too infrequently to inconvenience the jail. The short sentence allows the C.D.O.s, even if they are away from the city for several months, to accumulate quickly the required number of offences to get a sentence which is neither too long nor too short to make them useful as workers. The man in on a 5-day sentence is unlikely to be selected for work as he will not

have had much exposure to the jail's official routines and unofficial systems of operation - and it would be unprofitable to teach him since he would leave just as he was becoming proficient. Unless he is an incipient C.D.O. he is unlikely to serve another sentence in the jail in the near future.

Another aspect of sentencing which enhances the reliability of the chronic drunkenness offender as a work source in jail by ensuring the optimum time to make his selection feasible is the fact that he seldom pays his fine. The more integrated he is into the C.D.O. system, the less likely he is to pay the fine, either in court or after committal¹². The reasons for this are obvious: the more time the C.D.O. has spent in jail, the less time he has spent working and accumulating money outside to pay fines; and also, the fine is heavier with repeated offences.

Integration into the Work Structure

There are two stages in the integration of the chronic drunkenness offender into the jail work system: his initial selection and his continuing membership. In the initial stage the process is relatively well structured through usage. The staff member in charge of a work group requests a certain number of workers, sometimes indicating the type of person if special work is required. The request is placed with the sergeant, who knows the nature of the work involved and the personality, skills and other pertinent traits of the prisoners from prison records and previous contacts.

In deciding whether to select "newcomers", the sergeant will include in his consideration the possibility of the man's becoming a "permanent employee" and will therefore look for a potential repeater whenever possible to initiate into the system. The sergeant and other jail staff have developed considerable ability at detecting a potential C.D.O. A conviction for a drinking offence or perhaps vagrancy, middle-age, and signs of homelessness and joblessness are seen as precursors of a C.D.O. career. They also look for seeming passivity and cooperativeness as predictors of good behaviour. The prisoner may ask for work, even requesting a particular job, which indicates to the staff not only that he is willing but that he is familiar with the jail work system. Often a C.D.O. will

¹²Only 12.8 per cent of the 3+ offenders paid fines in court during the year of study, compared to 50 per cent of the first offenders. (See Chapter V)

suggest to the staff the name of a newcomer, which virtually guarantees that he will be given special work as it means he was familiar to the "regular" on the outside.

Following selection and placement of a newcomer in a regular job, there is a period of trial and apprenticeship. The potentially regular worker will try out the job, with its fringe benefits, while the work supervisor assesses his performance.

Not everybody is satisfactory. Been down there once and they won't have them again.

This initial stage may last through several incarcerations, thus providing adequate opportunity for both parties to arrive at a decision. Even more important, it allows time to establish whether a man is in fact a potential C.D.O. or not. Of the two factors, job competency and regularity of incarceration, there is little doubt that the latter assumes greater importance in the eventual establishment of a special worker, particularly since the level of skill involved in almost all of the jobs is elementary. There is an abundance of recruits for those few positions which require a special skill, such as the barber, baker, butcher and stationary engineer.¹³ In an employment situation such as this, the availability of a man will inevitably become paramount and the most available, regular prisoner is the chronic drunkenness offender.

I was given the job [spoon man - kitchen blues] about 5 or 6 years ago when I volunteered for work in the kitchen. I guess they're satisfied with me.

In the second stage, that of continued membership in the work structure, a different system of selection and placement is used, since it involves already established

¹³ Many of the men have learned these trades in other custodial institutions.

workers. As far as possible, these men are placed in the special work situations where they have performed adequately in the past. In the words of an inmate:

Certain ones work at certain jobs. They're not out long before they're back in at the same job. He [the chief engineer] gets the same group all the time. It's the same thing in the kitchen, only they've got more. If the same group didn't come in, the jail would have to get some caterers in.

The following opinion of a jail staff member in charge of assigning inmate workers to jobs indicates the rationale in terms of efficiency for recognizing a worker's right to his job:

They're generally very good workers, especially the ones who've been on the same job for a long time - the governor's man, some of the kitchen whites, the boiler room crew - oh, there are dozens of them who are the best workers you could find anywhere.

The well-established "hard core" work group are in actual demand: each supervisor or "employer" from the governor down has standing orders with the sergeant for certain chronic offenders. It is not uncommon for some of these employers to check the admission sheets regularly and to co-opt a man for his particular use.

Sometimes these special jobs are all filled, in which case the sergeant will "save" the worker by giving him another special job, preferably one which is allied or similar to his "regular" job. The man will likely perform this substitute job adequately for the duration of his sentence and become even more proficient as a member of the jail work staff. Or he may be transferred to his regular job if an opening occurs, with no loss of status on his part or work on the jail's.

Occasionally there will be no job opening at all for an incoming regular worker. The established alternative measures are to put him to temporary scrubbing, place him in an ambulatory "hospital" section or even to create a temporary special job for him. However, the necessity for this type of manoeuvring is rare, since there is considerable flexibility in the total number of workers in jail and, in the event of a surplus of regulars in the Don, they can be, and frequently are, sent to Mimico Reformatory.¹⁴ Finally, the supervisor of the inmate work crew frequently anticipates the return of regulars by keeping his crew below capacity or having the sergeant supply him with a non-regular whose short sentence will have expired by the time a regular arrives.

The men themselves generally appear to play a fairly passive role in the selection process, but once chosen, they do exert an influence on future selection by their attitude and performance. If a man refuses the job he is not forced to do it, and his refusal is not considered a breach of jail routine or regulations. The man will be put on a scrubbing detail and he will probably not be selected in future for a better job unless a shortage occurs.

One-quarter of our sample group of chronic drunkenness offenders are classified in jail as physically unemployable. Of those who are employable, three out of four work regularly at the special jobs. Since the number of C.D.O.s in jail normally ranges from 260 to 310, approximately 140 to 170 are regular workers. The 91 minimum number of workers to the 150 maximum required (Table VI - 1) can easily be drawn from the C.D.O. group at most times.

It is commonly believed by C.D.O.s that on occasions when work crews have been short the police have cooperated with the jail staff in arranging the return of regulars. As one C.D.O. expressed it: "There's favourites, shall we say. They come back and always step into their old job. As a matter of fact, one guard told me that when they're short in the kitchen, they just send word to the police to go and pick them up."

¹⁴ A number of C.D.O.s do similar kinds of work in both institutions, alternately.

However true that may be, the jail has evolved a system of using the C.D.O. to maintain many of its internal functions, partly because of his availability at frequent intervals for a convenient period of time, and partly because time has proven the C.D.O. to be a satisfactory worker.

Job Mobility

Movement from one job to another, or from one group of jobs to another, is possible but rare. It is limited not only by restrictions on opportunity but by lack of desire on the part of the men. Insofar as upward job mobility is almost synonymous with change of status in the social system, this attitude is consistent with the already noted absence of competition and status-seeking among the chronic drunkenness offenders.

Also, many of the men appear to be satisfied that a change of jobs offers no advantages.

The one I've got is as good as any [Spoon Man in the blues]. I can move around. I could have gone into the whites, but didn't want to.

My job is best, painting. Each guy thinks what he works at is the best job.

The limitations of opportunity arise from the nature of the work, the process of placement and the remarkably stable membership of the chronic drunkenness offender population. Most of the jail tasks require little skill and only elementary training. As anyone of average intelligence and physical ability can perform them after a brief apprenticeship, increased occupational competency is not an important basis for upward occupational movement. The placement procedure, the establishment of a pool of C.D.O.s on which the staff can draw for particular tasks, and the practice on the part of the staff of using

temporary replacements for a worker who has avoided arrest or is ill on admission or is under temporary discipline, help maintain a stable pattern of job assignments. The relatively unchanging C.D.O. population places further limits on the opportunity for mobility. In speaking of the "kitchen whites" one C.D.O. said of them: "They come in pretty regular, so they got like a special job". And another remarked: "The whites are more or less regular in here, pretty well always here. I did time when I was here years ago and over half of them are still here".

In fact, the few factors which create the openings that allow movement to take place are death, police and court vagaries, permanent abstinence and retirement, none of which makes for frequent vacancies. Death seldom depletes the work population since the C.D.O. generally enters the unemployable group before he dies. Variations in the arrest and sentencing patterns are only temporary conditions to which the jail system can adapt.¹⁵ Permanent abstinence which removes the C.D.O. not only from the inmate work system but from the C.D.O. population, is so rare as to be negligible. Retirement is the major source of depletion. Most of the C.D.O.s now in the unemployable category were formerly regular workers. Physical debilitation accompanying old age or hastened by injury or disease is the factor chiefly contributing to retirement. The jail staff also include mental deterioration and personality changes (as shown in uncooperativeness) as causes for enforced retirement.

One other rare occurrence which creates an opening is when a regular worker is permanently demoted to a lower status job or is removed entirely from the work system.

One tradesman, a butcher, was bounced out of the kitchen. They said he helped some guys take some food. But he can't remain idle so he was taken on to another gang, the gardeners.

All of these depletions represent a maximum of 15 to 20 per cent of the work staff a year. Obviously,

¹⁵ With some inconvenience at times: see discussion concerning Christmas sentences, p.3. .

some mobility must take place. When a governor's man drops out of the active work force, his replacement will be the deputy governor's man whose place will be filled by one of the "senior" men in the tea-room. Or if one of the pool of 3 or 4 staff barbers (i.e. inmate barbers who cut the hair of staff members) drops out, he will be replaced by a C.D.O. inmate barber (i.e. cuts hair of other inmates) who has proven his competence, cooperativeness and, most important, his regularity of attendance.

Even scrubbers may graduate from the scrubbing level and continue to move right to the top.

I started off with scrubbing floors, then they take a notion to use you if they want. The engineer came up and asked if there was anyone who knew boiler work and I went down with him. Then he always took me down whenever I come in.

The more usual pattern is for an established chronic drunkenness offender to enter the system at the next level up, that is, at the specialized job level. Scrubbing is the one non-specialized job. It is work for work's sake. That is, the necessary scrubbing is done quickly; the rest of the day's allotment is spent in merely repeating the activity. The realization that the scrubber is made to do unproductive work, together with lack of any rewards for his work, contributes to the low prestige of the job. Although there are different jobs within the scrub detail which may not be so demanding or demeaning (such as a duster, or a sprinkler who spreads the soap on the floor, or a runner for the supervisor), these are not regular assignments but change from day to day. Therefore there is no chance for them to solidify into status differences.

Occasionally a worker is demoted to the scrub bucket but this is only a temporary change of status during his chastisement for misbehaviour in a higher status job.

Change in the Work Structure

The inmate work structure is now sufficiently well established and recognized throughout the jail that change in the system itself is infrequent and minimal. Certain inmate groups such as the "big time" criminal group and a few C.D.O.s (7.9% of those questioned) may disapprove of the notion of work, but resign themselves to scrubbing. Their disapproval and refusal to work do not command respect from conforming C.D.O.s or from staff, and do not affect the work system.

If some part of the structure does not fulfill its function - for example, if the kitchen staff fails to feed the jail on time or if it offers improperly prepared food, then one or more members of that crew will be held responsible and action will be taken by the jail. Usually the members responsible will be temporarily demoted. This may cause a slight shift in the membership of the work crews but does not change the actual work structure.

One potential source of major change in the inmate work system is the senior staff. Consequently, staff members who are not sympathetic towards the system represent a real threat to individual workers and to the total structure. Should a change be made, the action could be supported by the para-military structure of the jail staff, where line command is ultimately very real and powerful. On the other hand, the provocation would have to be great and the action far-reaching to change such a well-established and apparently effective system.

In fact, the vast majority of the staff persons endorse the structure and actively participate in it, and few attempts are made at even minor changes in the system. Experience has proven such attempts, as for example trying to reduce the volume of contraband food traffic, to be ultimately futile anyway.

Staff members who disapprove of the system can really only attack it at the individual worker level. Change in the actual structure and composition of the inmate work system seems unlikely short of a drastic revision by a new governor or a marked change in the jail population.

Attitude Towards Work

In spite of the identification of the high status workers with their jobs, and in spite of the benefits attached, most of them express an ambivalent attitude towards working in jail. A high status worker in the tea-room had this to say:

I'm not doing this [work] out of the goodness of my heart. If I could get smokes and something to read once in a while I'd rather be in a corridor. Yeah, sometimes I get so mad at myself I could kick myself in the ass. I mean when the guard shouts "one up" - which means "I want a cup of tea" - I really burn.

This inmate is expressing a resentment of being ordered about, a resentment which is understandable as one of the costs of cooperation with an authoritarian system. But there is also a subcultural aspect to the expression of such sentiments: it is expected behaviour among the C.D.O.s. This taboo against admitting that one enjoys the jail job, like the taboo against "brown-nosing", appears to protect self-respect in an anomalous situation. In keeping with this, cooperation in work behaviour is usually rationalized as motivated merely by a self-interested desire for the rewards attached to the job. The expression "a good go", used to describe a desirable jail job, implies that the individual is somehow "beating the system". However, the effort that many of the regular workers put into their jobs is obviously beyond the minimum required to get by and this belies their words.

The Unemployables

About 15 to 20 per cent of all chronic drunkenness offenders are outside the work system altogether. These are the unemployable inmates, most of whom are "graduates" from the work system but are now physically or mentally

incapable of work. A few are C.D.O.s who entered this way of life at a late age, and a few have suffered injuries which terminated their employability. A few others never were employable. Of the approximately 1,750 C.D.O.s in Toronto¹⁶ 265 to 350 are unemployables, of whom about 65 to 80 may be found in jail at any given time. Of all the C.D.O.s they display the most consistent pattern of recidivism for drunkenness.

The unemployable chronic drunkenness offender is somewhat comparable to the retired group in the general population except that he is more likely to lack material or social resources of any kind and he indulges in drinking behaviour outside of jail, which precludes his being cared for in such an institution as an old peoples' home. To a certain extent the jail acts in this capacity for the unemployable since it must house, feed, clothe and otherwise care for him. The following statement by a member of the senior staff of the jail conveys some of the confusion and discontent over the present system:

We are far too easy on them...the jail... the whole system...doesn't make it tough enough for them. Some of them need to be taken care of but these men shouldn't be in jail. I'm talking about the 118 men in right now. There's 58 in No. 2 Annex and another 25 in No. 1 and No. 2 corridors and another 5 each in No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3 hospital. These are men who are either too old to work or physically handicapped. These men should be put somewhere else. The jail isn't a hospital or an old folks' home.

In terms of rehabilitation the group of unemployables represents the most problematical portion of the chronic drunkenness offender population. The employable C.D.O.s are productive at least part of the time and have the potential of being so all the time. However, unless

¹⁶ The actual count of individuals with 3 or more offences appearing in drunk court in a 12-month period was 1,758.

an effective therapeutic program re-instates them they will almost certainly end up in this terminal stage of the unemployable category.

THE SYSTEM OF REWARDS

We get quite a few ribs from some of the other fellows; some of the younger ones. They say we're foolish because we're working and have to do the same time. The one this morning was one of the smart guys around 21-23 ... I said, Listen fella, we get paid for our work. Tea and sandwiches and tobacco. And you work for nothing.

The reward system becomes a very important element in sustaining the revolving door. If the work structure existed without giving the special workers any advantages over the scrubbers and non-workers, the chronic drunkenness offenders might still, for the various reasons already mentioned which make his selection feasible, carry on the maintenance work of the jail. But without the special concessions and without the differential opportunities for material rewards, prison would be a less satisfying experience for the C.D.O. "If they didn't like jail", as one guard put it, "they wouldn't spend so much time here. They wouldn't act in a way that gets them arrested so often."

The amenities which jail provides would still prove superior to those they are used to on the outside, but since they would be the same for all prisoners the chronic drunkenness offenders would have no special place, no prestige. They would continue to be of the outcast group, in their own eyes as well as in others.

If you're a drunk, that's it and the whole world knows it.

But the differential reward system points up status differences and gives the chronic drunk a place in the sun. The higher status "regulars" seem particularly affected by it.

When they¹⁷ get the whites on they think they're better than the others. I guess it's because they think they got a little better job and a little better to eat.

And the remarks of one person who does not consider himself one of them indicates the bruised spirit of the person who suddenly finds himself below instead of above in the social hierarchy.

Some look down on you in here. These shits in here, they're Mr. It. Outside they're nothing.

The reward system contributes to occupational stratification. The more and better the rewards, the higher the status of the position.¹⁸ The person occupying the position is expected to accept responsibilities commensurate with the position. He has a role towards the staff which is that of a cooperative, efficient prisoner, and one towards the other C.D.O.s which involves an observance of the norms, especially that of sharing and thus redistributing some of the rewards. The higher the status, the more the individual is able to practise the norms of sharing and reciprocity, which in turn enhances his high status position.

¹⁷ The C.D.O. seldom uses the first person pronoun plural when discussing characteristics of the C.D.O. group. He speaks of the C.D.O.s as "they", even when he considers himself one of them.

¹⁸ In analyzing occupational statuses in the outside world, it is feasible to regard the relative scarcities of the skills and knowledge as determinants of ranking and to look upon the differential rewards as consequences of this ranking. However, the jobs in the jail require only skills that are rudimentary or easily learned, with the result that the differential rewards or secondary advantages of the jobs are more usefully regarded as major determinants of rank.

The rewards vary in quantity and quality between the different status and occupational groups: some include more and better of the services which are available to all prisoners; some are commodities not provided by the jail at all. Some are material rewards; some are non-material benefits. They cover every aspect of jail life from food, clothing and sleeping arrangements, to leisure activities and the garnering and dispensing of news. Not only is there unequal distribution of rewards, but the supply is inadequate to the demand. Thus, if the demand is basic and universal and the supply limited, access to the source of the supply becomes a very important attribute of status. Accessibility to tobacco, for example, has a much higher value than accessibility to food, since all C.D.O.s, even non-workers, have an adequate supply of food. Getting enough smokes, however, is often a pressing problem.

As we look at the various living arrangements in the Don Jail, at the chronic drunkenness offender's everyday activities and how he fares as an inmate, we will also discuss the differential opportunities for the special treatment and benefits which accrue to the various occupational groups.

Regardless of the particular work classification, the chronic offender spends upwards of 12 hours in activities which are essential for his physical survival and well-being. These include eating, sleeping, keeping warm, keeping clean, and keeping healthy.

Sleeping Arrangements

The chronic drunkenness offender spends more time in bed - averaging around 8 hours a day - than at any other jail assignment, including work (which averages six and one-half hours). However, the actual amount of sleep that each C.D.O. gets while incarcerated varies with the individual. For example, if a C.D.O. is experiencing acute withdrawal from alcohol (the severity of the withdrawal is usually in direct relation to the extent of the spree) he is likely to spend a restless and relatively sleepless night.¹⁹ Some

¹⁹ The routine symptoms of withdrawal, short of incipient DTs, are not regarded as warranting sedative medication.

C.D.O.s are so hypertensive or hypersensitive that the "normal" noise made by a group of men sleeping is sufficient to prevent them from sleeping. Some men are apparently able to get along with as little as 3 to 4 hours of sleep a night, while at the other extreme are men who supplement their sleep between lights out and rising with naps during the day.

We find that 62 (44.6%), or three times as many C.D.O.s expressed unqualified disapproval of the jail accommodations as expressed unqualified approval (20, or 14.4%). Forty-seven (33.8%) gave qualified approval, as compared to 10 (7.2%) who disapproved with qualifications. All told, 48.2 per cent of those responding expressed approval and 51.8 per cent expressed disapproval. The main areas of criticism are overcrowding (87 out of 228 responses), sanitation (28 responses) and inadequate bedding (30 responses).

They are horrible. I've seen 54 men in a corridor built to sleep only 19 men. One toilet. All of them, 4 in a cell, using one piss pot.

They're no good. The springs call for a mattress. We only have 3 blankets and you have to have 2 under you.

When asked if they got enough sleep, less than half of those answering the question, 35, stated that they were not able to obtain enough sleep, and 47 men said they did.

Comparison with Outside Sleeping Arrangements.- There is considerable contrast between the sleeping habits of the chronic drunkenness offender on the inside and his habits on the outside. In jail he can get a regular amount of sleep with regular sleeping hours and a reasonably clean and comfortable bed. Outside, when he is on a spree, sleeping is unplanned, spasmodic, and usually occurs under extremely unclean and uncomfortable conditions. When he is not on a spree he can obtain free or cheap accommodation in missions or certain hostels. However, he much prefers to use his pension, welfare money or work earnings to obtain a room

than to use an agency dormitory. The C.D.O. dislikes the quarters provided for the homeless itinerant, considering them inadequate, involving too much religion and a "last resort". He says that he prefers to get his own accommodation, which ideally is a clean, housekeeping room, but this describes what he would like rather than what he usually gets, since he chooses to spend his money on alcohol rather than lodging when he is drinking. Thus, when mentioning the out-of-jail sleeping conditions that he is most likely to experience, the chronic drunkenness offender refers to flophouses, box-cars, or trucks, staying outdoors if weather permits, or being "holed-up" in a drinking "spot" while on a "party" during a spree, but seldom considers the missions as alternatives.

In short, sleeping conditions outside, when the man is sober, may compare favourably with conditions in jail, but not when the man is drinking - which is most of the time. In jail the C.D.O. gets regular sleep, which contributes to his physical and mental well-being and compensates for the inadequate rest he obtains on the outside.

Sleeping Facilities as Rewards.- The chronic drunkenness offender tends to be more critical of the sleeping arrangements than he is of any other conditions affecting his living habits in jail. Some of the criticism reflects the differential allocation of sleeping quarters to the various classifications of prisoners. For example, the complaint of overcrowding is generally made by those who sleep in corridors, even though some dormitories become crowded when the jail count is high. Better sleeping accommodation is given to the inmates who have the higher status in the occupational stratification:

If you're a working man, they treat you all right. You sleep in the dormitory with beds laid out like a hospital ward. In the corridors its pretty rough. Very narrow and crowded. The ventilation is poor. It gets very stinking.

Not only do the special workers have sleeping facilities superior to the scrubbers, but there is variation

within the special work group. Scrubbers and corridor men sleep in double bunks in the corridor cells. The kitchen men sleep in a dormitory, but in double bunks; the No. 2 Annex men have single beds but the rooms are quite crowded; No. 1 Annex, which is a large room housing the governor's men, the staff barber and the guard room personnel²⁰, has single beds, plenty of space, and is the best accommodation of all. Furthermore, No. 1 Annex men have direct access to the linen and blanket supply.

All workers are issued bed linen and pillows, as well as the mattress and blankets, which is all the other prisoners get.²¹

In addition to the extra space and other comforts, all workers, except the corridor men (who must abide by the "lights out" time for the corridors, which is 9:00 p.m.), have special times for lights out. Usually the time is from 9:45 to 10:15. The No. 1 Annex group, however, can turn their lights out whenever they wish.

Eating

The food in the Don Jail is generally considered good. Forty-three per cent of the chronic drunks gave unqualified approval of the meals - "Regards a man in our position, they're excellent" - another 48 per cent qualified approval. Only 8.4 per cent disapproved (1.4% qualified and 7.0% unqualified). The main object of criticism is the inadequacy of the breakfast (47 men out of 228). Another 19 men complained of the lack of quality and 9 of the lack of quantity.

I don't eat regular outside. They're better meals than I eat outside.

Only one thing, you can't get as much coffee as you'd like. Anyone knows you can't expect to be getting as good all around as you would at home.

²⁰ Hereafter, the term No. 1 Annex will be used when discussing anything common to all 3 occupational categories housed there.

²¹ When the jail population exceeds the regular accommodation, prisoners are often required to sleep on springs covered with a blanket.

A favorite topic of conversation is the merits of the main meal served each day. The Don is often referred to as "the best eating jail in Canada". An example of an average day's noon meal is cited for Thursday, February 8, 1961. The dinner consisted of potato-rice soup made with beef stock; two sausages in brown gravy, pickled beets and home-fried potatoes; brown and white bread; deep apple cake and tea.

There is little doubt that the chronic drunkenness offender's diet in jail is markedly superior in both quality and quantity to his diet on the outside. Even if the man was not drinking outside, he would need to be working regularly to have enough money to eat in this style. Usually he is dependent on missions, soup kitchens and other charitable sources for whatever food he gets. Diets based on these sources tend to be hit-and-miss affairs, and the eating of regular meals seldom enters into his plans for a day's activity. A typical statement is, "When I'm outside I'm drinking or looking for drink and if I eat I'll only get sick, so I don't bother with meals." A bowl of soup or a cup of coffee with perhaps an order of toast will often be the only non-alcoholic intake for days. Even then the food or coffee is frequently purchased as a cover for the use of the restaurant's washroom as a place to drink wine or mix "rub".

However, some of the men do like to have regular meals when out of jail, at least part of the time. These are the few men who are able to eat while drinking; men who have tapered off drinking, and those who are undergoing the "hungry horrors" or "chuck horrors"²². For these men getting enough to eat sometimes becomes an almost Herculean task. If he has no money (and often even if he has he may wish to save it for other purposes) the C.D.O.'s search for food might take him back and forth across the central downtown part of the city. If he has meal tickets at the Salvation Army he is assured of the limited number of meals for which such tickets are issued. Similarly, if he is lodging at Seaton House, Fred Victor Mission or the House of Providence, he will be provided with his evening meal

²² An apparent compulsion to eat heavily during the later stages of a spree. This compulsion may last a day or so.

and breakfast, either as a meal or in the form of a sandwich package. The noon meal requires a trip cross-town to the Scott Mission at Spadina and College. The "mission stiff" often finds himself eating the identical food at several consecutive meals.

In contrast to this lack of variety and difficulty in obtaining three meals a day, the Don Jail is a place where the chronic drunkenness offender can consume three varied meals a day (and more, as will be noted, for certain inmates, depending on their occupational status), eating them with a greater degree of privacy and in a more relaxed atmosphere than in the agency dining halls. He is able to converse with his friends and co-workers while eating in the jail.

While the chronic drunkenness offender outside of jail is likely to eat when not drinking but not as well as in jail, he is likely to stop eating for days or even weeks when on a spree. The results of this lack of eating are evident in the physical condition of the chronic drunks when they arrive in jail. Few C.D.O.s are overweight at any time, but they are typically under their own normal weight on entry to jail where they proceed to gain on the jail diet. An analysis of the weights on entry and discharge of 85 members of the parent sample showed an average gain of 4.5 ounces a day. Only 6 of the group lost weight and 75 gained. (See Chapter XII).

Thus, instead of experiencing dietary hardship in jail as might be expected, the men usually eat more and better than they do outside.

Food as Reward.- Where one is located in the occupational hierarchy determines not only how much but also the quality and variety of food one gets. The scrubber receives only the "line meals", that is, the standard basic fare, whereas all special work crews can at least have extra helpings as requested. In addition, these crews have morning and afternoon snacks, referred to as "jug-ups" (from the practice of jugs, or often pails, of tea being provided, usually with something to eat).

The kitchen whites are acknowledged as having the superior position regarding food, since they have access to the supplies in the kitchen and within reason can prepare their own snacks and desserts. The No. 1 Annex group, however, receive contributions from the members of the staff whom they serve; these might be portions of staff members' lunches (almost all of whom bring their midday meal and eat it in jail) or occasionally a special item such as coffee. This has special significance, since the only beverage served to all inmates is tea. Sometimes the staff will offer a cup of coffee to the No. 1 Annex workers, and outside crews are also occasionally allowed the special privilege of buying a cup of coffee from a nearby restaurant.

The No. 1 Annex men are able to exchange some of the goods they obtain from the tea-room, such as fresh fruit, candies, reading matter and coffee, with the kitchen whites, in return for which they receive bacon and eggs, steaks, and even specially baked pastry.

Health

In terms of hygiene, including cleanliness, warmth, and control over infections, there is little doubt that life in jail is quite healthy. The men are not only able to keep clean and shave, but, in fact, are compelled to do so under threat of discipline. In addition, they are issued toothbrushes and towels which (except for their prison clothes and tobacco) represent the only "personal" items allowed, and they are routinely made to take shower baths at least once a week.

The problem of keeping warm (or cool in summer) does not affect the chronic drunkenness offender in jail, since the old wing is well-heated with radiators and well-ventilated by an abundance of large windows, which are not sealed as are those in the new wing. Prison clothes are quite adequate in terms of warmth and include heavy jackets for those who work out-of-doors during the winter.

Medication and general control of infections appear to be adequate with the possible exception of tuberculosis (see Chapter XII). The staff is particularly sensitive to and careful of illness in jail, and any serious injury,

infection or disease, usually results in the prisoner's being sent to a hospital. Exceptions to this are withdrawal sickness and minor chronic conditions, which are usually handled by putting the individuals in one of the hospital sections if isolation, privacy or better conditions are indicated, or simply by administering medication.²³

With respect to medication, a brief comment should be made about the use of pills as a form of exchange for other items in short supply. Consumption in the jail of alcohol by the inmates is almost unknown, but there is evidence that some of them on occasion take barbiturates illicitly. Although most medication is used legitimately, it is not uncommon to find inmates, usually C.D.O.s, who save their pills and use them to "purchase" tobacco, reading material or special food. This happens particularly in No. 2 Annex, which contains the largest group of men receiving medication.

Clothing and Cleanliness

Only two uniforms are issued: one is the white uniform (shirt and trousers) for the chef's men and the other is the regular blue issue worn by all other inmates. However, the condition of the clothing can vary. The scrubbers and non-workers get routine issue; the special workers are shown preference by being given clothing in good condition, either because they request this special consideration or because the workers in the stores, usually C.D.O.s themselves, recognize them as regulars and give them better clothing on that account. This special treatment can occur at admission or later, and in the case of kitchen whites and the No. 1 Annex group, it occurs every day or every few days.

A presumably non-sanctioned use of jail clothing is when a sympathetic staff member who looks after discharges allows a C.D.O. to wear some jail issue on leaving. It is very infrequent and allowed only to the select few who are

²³ Frossts' 222 Tablets represent the ubiquitous medication employed by the jail, although barbiturates are also a fairly common prescription.

the high status workers: No. 1 Annex men, the boiler room men, and kitchen whites. Since the identity of most items of jail clothing would be immediately apparent to other members of staff, other C.D.O.s and the staffs of certain Skid Row charitable organizations, the practice is confined to undergarments, boots and socks and sometimes winter jackets.

That fellow T----, they gave him a brand new Joe-joe - that's a shortie coat we wear in the yard - lined and everything. Because he works in front making tea for them.

One other benefit which the high status C.D.O. receives is to have his personal clothing cleaned, pressed, and even mended by the laundry crew. Since this is not an official service or an unofficial one in which the staff is directly involved, it is practised discreetly and infrequently (most men leave jail with their clothing in the same shape as when they entered). The obligation is repaid with extra and special food from the kitchen whites, butts and reading matter from the engineers, and smokes, reading matter and special food (including coffee) from the guard room.

Special workers are allowed additional showers to the regular one-a-week, and No. 1 Annex men are allowed to have them almost daily.

Smokes and Smoking

Although the prisoners are allowed to smoke, cigarettes and tobacco are not issued by the jail. They can be purchased by the inmates, but the chronic drunkenness offender is unlikely to have money when he enters jail. If he does, he is inclined to save it to pay the small remainder of his fine that will let him out of jail a day or two earlier or else he will harbour it to buy a bottle of wine when he gets out. Since tobacco is relatively

scarce and because most C.D.O.s are heavy smokers,²⁴ the ability to obtain it as a gift or through barter assumes great importance. Furthermore, it is differentially available to the various occupational groups and is therefore a major variable in the stratification of occupations.

Most categories of special workers have some source of free tobacco or cigarettes, but the regularity of the supply and the amount vary considerably. At the bottom of the scale are the hospital orderlies, the corridor men and the kitchen blues, whose sole supply is the limited generosity of the inmates they serve. The next group up includes those work crews whose members are often supplied by their supervisors. The cleaners and boiler room men are in a favoured position since they have access to the dry garbage (i.e. the sweepings), which will include a large supply of cigarette butts from inmates and staff. The cleaners have first "pickin's" but they are usually very careful to take only what they can use and leave the rest for the boiler room men. This reflects an implicit understanding that the latter group possesses the higher status. (Occasionally they have to resort to explicit reminders which are usually verbal but sometimes physical.) The number of butts is sufficient not only to supply these two groups but to allow the boiler room men to distribute the butts fairly regularly to other high status groups and to the unemployable C.D.O.s.

This behaviour on the part of the boiler room men enhances their status and provides them with additional material benefits. Having not only an adequate supply of smokes, but a surplus, is a singular mark of success. In addition, the generosity in supplying smokes to the unemployable C.D.O.s constitutes an act which has considerable emotional importance to all C.D.O.s - as well as to the staff. Finally, by sharing their abundance with other work groups the boiler room men are in a position to be repaid, either in goods (better and more food, bedding, etc.) or in services.

²⁴ One of the main advantages to doing time in Mimico Reformatory lies in the fact that the men are issued tobacco in that institution.

There are several other groups who are in just as advantageous a position as the boiler room men, if not more advantageous. The men in the showers and stores, for example, are present while the prisoner's possessions are catalogued and "bagged". Tobacco and cigarettes left in clothing are collected and distributed among themselves by the shower room attendants.

However, the men in the most favourable position to get smokes are the No. 1 Annex group. While the boiler room group relies almost exclusively on butts from which the tobacco is reclaimed and made into new "roll-your-owns", the barber and the tea-room boys normally receive enough "tailor-mades" for their own use, so that the butts they pick up from the staff ash trays are given to the less fortunate, including unemployable C.D.O.s. The governor's men, on the other hand, receive a plentiful supply of "makings" (both tobacco and papers) from their employer.

The jail has a policy of prohibiting the possession of matches to any of the inmates, ostensibly to prevent certain undesirable practices such as plugging key-holes with them. Consequently cigarette lighters become a necessary and valuable commodity. Here the shower room attendants and the workers in the stores are in a favoured position, as they are able to keep any lighters left through carelessness in a prisoner's clothing. Any extra lighters they get are given to members of certain high status groups with the expectation of return favours. From the guardroom men they receive in return smokes, special food and reading material; the kitchen whites repay them with special food; the boiler room men given them butts and reading matter.

Again, generosity is shown to the unemployable C.D.O.s, who are given the occasional lighter with no open expectation of payment.

Sexual Deprivation

The jail is generally regarded as an "abnormal" environment in that its population consists of only one sex. Inaccessibility of heterosexual outlets is considered a further form of punishment for those sentenced to prison.

The degree of deprivation felt will undoubtedly vary in direct proportion to the nature and extent of the inmates' customary sexual experiences on the outside, and perhaps inversely to their acceptance and practice of such alternative behaviour as masturbation and homosexuality.

The chronic drunkenness offenders are divided into two distinct groups: the majority who are no longer interested in heterosexual experiences, and those who are. The man who states he is not at this stage concerned with sexual intercourse usually includes a claim to normality by referring to an earlier period when he was sexually active. He seems to feel a sense of loss, but this is seldom related to the fact that he is in jail and being deprived of the opportunity. Such a person will say he is "not interested any more"; "I used to when I was younger, but not now"; or will suggest that his loss of potency is due to being "burned out on account of the booze". An infrequent explanation is that taking Antabuse has deprived him of his sexual potency.

The sizeable segment of the chronic drunkenness offender population for whom absence of heterosexual intercourse has become a part of their life, feel no deprivation as a result of imprisonment. One C.D.O. suggested the relative insignificance of sexual intercourse on the outside in the following quotation:

It doesn't bother me one way or the other. I wouldn't turn it down, though. You hear some guys talk about what they did or are going to do, but outside they usually see how fast they can get drunk. Most of the women they're with are the same as they are, alcoholic.

The group who claim to be participating in heterosexual relationships on the outside seldom express any feeling of being deprived in jail. The emphasis here is on their ability to "control" themselves, although some admit they find relief in other ways.

You get the feeling but you don't do nothing except let nature take its course. Sometimes

have a wet dream. Or play with yourself; pretty near everyone does that once in a while.

Jerk off once in a while; that's all.

I love broads...For 30 days I don't do nothing. Maybe if I was in for a year I'd pull my wire or get myself a sweet kid...I don't think there's any man who can't control himself for 30 days.

The short length of sentence certainly lessens the sense of deprivation felt by the chronic offenders who have active sexual drives. Among the younger members of this group masturbation seems to be widely practised and accepted as the normal pattern of relief.

Homosexual practices are generally referred to with scorn and loathing. The few known "queers" or "gear-boxes" are looked upon by most C.D.O.s as the abnormal elements within the setting. Nevertheless the responses of some of the men suggest that homosexuality is considered by some of the others as an accepted form of sexual release both inside the jail and out. They tend to admit that the practice exists among other prisoners in other settings, acknowledging its existence while condemning the participants. This may be a form of projection.

Seen many in jail. They're just misfits in life, I guess...In jail the only outlet for a guy depends on the kind of guy. Some might want to commit sodomy. He isn't going to set there and abuse himself if he has another outlet. I guess I seen a lot of this. It's only natural when they get these fellows in there. There's oddballs wherever you go.

These attempts to locate the incidence of homosexuality elsewhere and possibly to minimize its occurrence, are understandable in the light of various factors. Whereas he can explain or at least rationalize his drinking behaviour to those who may be interested, the chronic offender apparently sees himself as vulnerable to criticism from outsiders for violating sexual taboos. The image of the C.D.O. as differing only in his drinking behaviour from the rest of society is one he tries hard to maintain.

Also, many of the data were obtained in the jail and some suspicion of the interviewers and their role may have led to evasive answers. The men may have felt that the admission of homosexual practices would result in their being labelled as "queer" and that notification of prison officials might bring about restrictive policies.

However, the impression of both the jail staff and the observers is that homosexual acts are rare among C.D.O.s in the jail setting. The short sentences and the continually changing jail population that results, together with the lack of privacy, are conditions highly unfavourable to the establishment of homosexual liaisons.

Leisure Activities

Outside of jail the life of the chronic drunkenness offender is so dominated by activities related to drinking that he has little time left for recreation even if he wanted it. Inside, he has from five and one-half to seven hours a day of free time. But extreme circumscription of movement and activities in jail reduces his choices, particularly if he is in certain low status categories, to a relatively small number of voluntary pursuits. Nevertheless he actually spends more time in more varied leisure activities in jail than out. (Chapter VII). Few of the activities, except reading, are solitary ones (and even reading frequently supplies the material for discussions) so that the C.D.O. finds himself interacting socially with other C.D.O.s for purposes unrelated to drinking. In this respect, he leads a fuller life in jail than outside.

The major spare time activities of the chronic drunkenness offenders in jail are:²⁵ reading (31.5% of the men), playing cards and checkers (28.8%), talking (16.4%), and resting and walking (1.4%). Occupational status contributes to differential opportunities to indulge in those leisure-time pursuits which do exist, and we shall list the differences in rewards between the different work groups.

²⁵ Figures refer to percentage of men who gave these activities as their main leisure-time pursuits.

Reading.- The daily newspapers are the most popular reading material, having an almost universal appeal among the men. Even a copy that is several days old is still of interest. The few chronic drunkenness offenders who do not read them appear to be social isolates (both inside and out) who are not interested in the world around them. The tabloid scandal sheets with a strong sexual motif (such as Flash, Hush) are popular mostly among the younger men who are less integrated into the C.D.O. population, and among the marginally criminal types. The vicarious experiences and news of the demi-monde for which these papers are read, appear to be no longer meaningful to the old, more thoroughly integrated C.D.O.s.

The hard core of the chronic drunkenness offender inmates enjoy reading the news magazines such as Time and Newsweek, and discussing the news amongst themselves and sometimes with the staff. Here again, as with his work, the C.D.O. leads a normal, responsible life on the inside in contrast to the outside, where the world is narrowed down to his own drinking.

Many of the men read the "digest" type magazines with particularly keen interest. These digests represent to the chronic drunkenness offenders (as they do to many other people) the source of authoritative knowledge and opinion - reduced to popular terms and cast in an optimistic mould - on the full range of man's concerns. The C.D.O.s are particularly interested in articles on alcoholism and discuss them eagerly. Any involvement with solutions to the problem of alcoholism, however, remain at the intellectual level.

Reading of novels and other "escape" literature is rare, although it does occur among the younger chronic drunkenness offenders. This may be because the younger men still experience emotional needs and the related phantasies which are now alien to the older C.D.O.s. The non-personal areas of the world around them may be all that is left to the older men and, furthermore, in their situation a spectator relationship to it is the only realistic one to have.

Reading Matter as Rewards.- Anyone in jail who wants to read can do so, since papers, magazines and books eventually are passed down through the ranks. But the amount and currency of the reading material available vary according to occupation and are therefore differential rewards.

The No. 1 Annex group is the one most generously supplied with reading material. They are likely to see both morning and afternoon newspapers on the same day and to get the first choice of other publications. They have two main sources of supply of newspapers and magazines: the staff, who bring them in for their own reading, and continuing subscriptions of former prisoners (usually New Wing). The staff are also a source of books, mostly paperbacks. These reading materials tend to be kept for a while for guardroom use but the guardroom workers generally end up with them and, in turn, pass them on.

The members of the boiler room gang are the second most privileged, although they are dependent on the garbage for their reading material. Their newspapers are usually a day old, and their magazines and books used, but they have a plentiful supply. In both cases, the reading material can be passed on to the kitchen whites in part exchange for special food.

The other workers receive magazines and books brought to them by their crew chiefs but the quantity does not approach that obtained in No. 1 Annex. The remaining inmates, who are not members of regular work crews, are completely dependent on other prisoners for their reading material, as are the unemployable C.D.O.s who again receive generous donations from the others. No one is badly off for some kind of reading matter because there is inevitably a great deal of redistribution of books, magazines and day-old newspapers.

Games.- Playing cards is even more popular with a few chronic drunkenness offender inmates than reading, although much more time is spent on reading. Only about half the group of the more gregarious men indulge in card playing. The two favourite card games are bridge and cribbage. Euchre, hearts and gin rummy are occasionally played. Gambling games such as poker and black jack are not popular with the C.D.O., either because he loses interest when no money is involved or (and this is the observer's impression) because the C.D.O. is not a gambling man. One reason may be that the aleatory element in his life outside is so large that artificial risks have little appeal.

Checkers and chess are played, but rarely, partly because the actual boards and pieces are scarce. In other male settings on the outside (e.g. Seaton House, the Good Neighbours Club) when they are not drinking some of the men do play these games.

One other game that is played is billiards, but it is limited to a favoured few who have access to the staff equipment.

Games as Rewards.-

We read, play cards sometimes. Checkers too, but we haven't got a board in [the corridor] where I am now.

Cards, cribbage-boards and checker games are all found in much greater quantity in the work crew quarters than in the regular inmate quarters where they are in very short supply. A deck of cards represents a premium item and torn or even handmade replacement cards are not uncommon. Checker and chess sets are even scarcer and, as the quotation indicates, may not even be found in the quarters of some of the lower status groups. Sometimes a staff member will give a C.D.O. in the No. 1 Annex group a pack of cards, which is a greatly prized reward.

Being allowed to play billiards at all is a reward, and a mark of the highest status since no one, other than a No. 1 Annex man is ever allowed to play. The billiards equipment is officially for the staff, so that for a C.D.O. to be allowed to play is both rare and very highly regarded.

Resting.- This varies with age, personality and the person's role in jail. It is much more prevalent in the No. 2 Annex group, where the unemployables and derelicts are found than in any other group of C.D.O.s. In fact, aside from naps necessitated by work routines, resting or lying down other than for regular sleep is not a common occurrence. Since idleness is equated with boredom, freedom to rest is not a valued privilege.

Walking.- Walking varies in intensity from extremely compulsive walking during every free moment to frequent relaxed walking just to stretch the legs.²⁶ Compulsive walking is usually indulged in by those men who, either because they are newcomers to the C.D.O. system, or because they are chronic "hard-timers", are finding incarceration difficult to adjust to and accept. C.D.O.s who "do hard time" are rare²⁷ and they develop a reputation for this type of behaviour. Compulsive walkers are almost invariably in the non-worker corridors, which are generally considered undesirable but are ideally suited to pacing, being narrow and very long.

The men who do the least walking in their leisure time are the regular workers, especially the tea-room men, who do a considerable amount of walking in the course of carrying out their duties.

Freedom of Movement as a Reward.- The privilege of walking is not a reward in itself, nor is it differentially available to the various groups. Freedom of movement, which extends the scope of walking, very definitely is. Not only does it symbolize a privileged position; it also offsets tedium by making possible more varied social interaction and widens the opportunities for material exchange. While low status C.D.O.s most frequently list loss of freedom of movement as their main criticism of jail, all inmates, regardless of their status, express some negative feelings towards being locked up and under surveillance. The two most frequent replies to the question concerning their original reaction to their first imprisonment were "loss of freedom" (51.0%) and feelings of shame, remorse, and guilt (48.0%). Further questioning elicited the information that over the years most C.D.O.s have lost the shame and guilt feelings but the negative feeling engendered by loss of freedom still persists.

²⁶ All inmates who are not hospitalized are required to do 15 minutes walking in the exercise yard daily.

²⁷ Generally it is "big time" inmates who are more likely to display such "hard time" reactions to incarceration as compulsive walking.

Freedom of movement thus becomes an item of considerable importance in the deprivation-reward system of life in jail. Because there are marked differences among occupations in the freedom of movement they accord, it is a major factor in the ranking of occupations.

The No. 1 Annex group has the greatest amount of freedom of all jail inmates. Of this group the governor's man is the freest to move around on his own. He can come and go between the jail and the residences of the top jail administrators. Furthermore, he does not require approval from any staff to do so and is not subject to surveillance from staff. The prestige and trust implicit in this right are fully appreciated by staff and inmates alike and only occasionally give rise to resentment.

The tea-room men have a more restricted form of this same freedom. They are allowed to go from the old building to the new wing to deliver tea, messages or parcels, on a relatively unrestricted and unsupervised basis, but only at the request of a staff member.

An unusual privilege which is allowed to both the governor's man and the tea-room men is ringing the front doorbell for readmission into jail. This act not only indicates the trust embodied in their status, but further enhances the status because the guard must go and open the door for them.

The staff barber has almost unrestricted freedom to move about in the various parts of the old wing, but he does not have access to the outside.

Class B men, kitchen chefs and boiler room attendants, presuming they are performing their work adequately, are free to move from their dormitory to the kitchen or boiler room and back at will, but they must take a direct route. In Class C the laundry men are free to go around to specific locations, such as the tea-room or the kitchen, to pick up dirty laundry, but they too must take the established routes.

The men in the showers and stores are "on call" and may find their own way from the dormitory to the admission area when a new load of prisoners comes in, if there is no guard easily available to escort them and the same is true of their return when the job is finished.

The other work crews in Group C are generally under supervision (although it is a relaxed surveillance) and are not free to come and go from job to dormitory. However, the garden gang and, on occasion, the paint and maintenance crews, work outside and although they are under some supervision at all times their status in this respect approaches the trusty level. Sometimes the supervisor of an outside gang allows an additional measure of freedom, expressing an additional measure of trust by letting some member of the group go to a nearby restaurant or store for candies, cigarettes or coffee. Since this extra freedom is infrequent and a matter of grace rather than right, it does not raise their general rank significantly in the eyes of the other C.D.O.s.

Some of the corridor men have a certain amount of freedom outside of their corridors, usually based on their seniority as workers and C.D.O.s. This may include going to the kitchen for snacks. One corridor man states that he prefers his job as corridor man to any others:

You get a little more freedom. I'm up and around all over the jail. I'm down in the kitchen and on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday I take gas around for the lighters, me and the other corridor man. We just go along by ourselves, get an hour to do the whole jail. In this corridor you're just like a trusty, you don't have to ask anyone to go out in the yard or down in the kitchen. They generally know where you are.

The kitchen blues have relatively little freedom of movement except in the course of their work. They are led to and from the kitchen in a group, under supervision.

The chronic drunkenness offenders with the least amount of freedom are the scrubbers and unemployables. Their only freedom of movement outside of their own locked areas occurs during exercise period, which is compulsory for the scrubbers but voluntary for the unemployables.

Talking. - The activity which is enjoyed most, which provides the greatest interest and involves the most leisure time, is talking. It may be divided into three main areas according to content: (1) giving and receiving news, (2) views and opinions on current events, and (3) reminiscing.

1. The "news" primarily refers to individuals and events of direct concern to the chronic drunkenness offenders. Firstly, there is news about other chronic drunks now inside: how much time they got, where they are in the jail, their physical condition, where they are working, where they were arrested and with whom. Then there are items of news about C.D.O.s on the outside: who left town, who is working, and any other unusual behaviour such as attempts to "go straight".²⁸ Other items of interest concern whether the police are acting "hot" or "cool";²⁹ which magistrate is on the bench and what the sentencing pattern is; any changes in the policies and practices of Skid Row institutions; changes in availability of alcoholic beverages (legitimate sources and otherwise); and recent developments in the jail such as changes in personnel, policies, and practices. In short, jail becomes a clearing house for gossip.

2. Views and opinions about more general items and current events also usually relate directly to themselves. Thus they will exchange opinions about the behaviour of certain chronic drunkenness offenders; about the relative efficacy and justice of drunk court proceedings, including the idiosyncratic behaviour of particular magistrates; matters concerning the role of the law and police with respect to drunkenness; various aspects of alcoholism treatment; their general opinions about Skid Row institutions;³⁰ and the general patterns and methods of handling drunkenness.

However, the C.D.O.s do spend some time discussing less personal matters, such as politics, science, medicine, economics, psychology, social norms and values. Their opinions on these subjects are greatly influenced by the digest type magazines and newspapers they read.

²⁸ "Going straight" refers to attempts at changing his way of life, such as stopping or controlling drink, working regularly, or establishing non-C.D.O. relationships.

²⁹ That is, whether the surveillance is rigorous or not.

³⁰ The activities of the Salvation Army are favourite objects of criticism.

3. Reminiscing is relatively rare and when it occurs seldom goes back into their earlier "normal" lives but delves only into their Skid Row C.D.O. past.³¹ Generally such reminiscing refers to times when things were different, including the law, the city, the economy, the type of beverage available and the price; it also includes memories of C.D.O.s who have moved, recovered or died. These discussions are usually simply a recounting of the facts, indicating little or no emotional attachment to, or particular fondness for, the persons or institutions recalled.³²

Since talking, particularly relaying and discussing news items, plays such a large part in the lives of the chronic drunkenness offenders in jail, it follows that the individual with access to the latest news and information of inside and outside events and persons, is in a superior and enviable position. Being close to the news sources contributes to the importance of high status positions and functions as a reward.

Position in the Communication System as a Reward.-

The communication system, which involves this giving and dispensing of news, operates within and as part of the occupational stratification system. The higher the status the greater the amount of important and interesting information the men receive from staff and inmates. This is understandable, since the high status men come into frequent and close contact with staff. The occupation of the staff barber, for instance, brings him into continual and intimate contact with the jail staff from the governor down. Although not all staff are communicative towards any inmate, the barber, especially if he is a long-term C.D.O., is usually "in on" information from staff. The governor's man is in a position to receive information not only from the head man of the jail but often from his wife. Even if he does not have actual communication, the fact that he is in a situation to receive such extremely confidential and top level information is very important in the eyes of the other inmates. The tea-room boys are also in continual contact with all levels of jail personnel and are privy to different kinds and amounts of information than are the other No. 1 Annex workers.

³¹ Reminiscing about the "other way" of life occurs in drinking sprees when a C.D.O. is in a maudlin, remorseful stage of intoxication.

³² This is not particularly surprising in view of the generally "flat" emotional front they present to the world.

All other workers and non-workers are lower down the communication structure in direct relation to their work status.

The freedom of movement of the No. 1 Annex men who go outside the jail without supervision and who communicate with certain staff members such as administrative personnel whom the other inmates do not even see, facilitates the receiving and transmitting of news. The news they get and give reduces the closed-in and isolated feeling experienced by the prisoners.

Thus the occupations of certain individuals provide them with superior opportunities to hear and disseminate news; the fact that they afford these opportunities enhances the prestige of the occupations.

Organized Activities. - There are a few leisure time activities which are provided for all inmates. Participation or lack of participation has no effect on the chronic offender's social status, although his status may affect whether he does participate or not.

A variety of meetings and religious services are held which the men may attend. Weekly visits are made to the jail by members of Alcoholics Anonymous; high status C.D.O.s are asked to attend; lower status men are told to. The chances are that a man will participate in the meetings twice a month.

The old wing (where the chapel, which seats 50 or more men, is located) has the following religious services each week:

Salvation Army.....	Saturday afternoon
Anglican Army.....	Sunday afternoon
Roman Catholic.....	Friday evening
Bible Mission.....	Sunday morning

Although few of the men class themselves as currently practising any particular form of religion, the services are generally well-attended. Attendance may be merely to introduce some novelty into their prison routine, to take advantage of an opportunity for wider contacts, and

to get the cigarettes which are usually distributed by the religious workers to those attending.

Guys go to see some of their friends in other corridors. Maybe get some butts and stuff.

Besides putting in time and providing social interaction with the C.D.O.s from other corridors or areas, the meetings may also provide valuable contacts with the religious functionaries who conduct them. These men may assist the C.D.O.s after release and also transmit news and messages between the inside and outside environments. One guard stated:

There is lots of spiritual guidance here. But I don't think they're getting through to many of them. These guys are just using them.

Regardless of the motives for attending, the C.D.O. does participate in these activities which provide further topics of conversation and a source of contact with the outside world.

Letter Writing.- Given the conditions of the average C.D.O.'s life outside, it is not surprising that he is much more likely to write letters in jail. One-quarter of the men interviewed had written no letters at all in recent years, but those who had were three times as likely to have written from the jail. Letters to relatives - the largest category - were twice as likely to be written from the jail; letters to friends three times as likely and "business" letters³³ were 7 times as likely. Letter writing is another indication that the chronic offender takes part in a more "normal" pattern of living when he is in jail.

33 "Business" letters are mainly letters to government bodies about pensions or welfare payments; to missions and hostels about mail and belongings; to employers or former employers about jobs; to the Department of the Attorney-General about remission of sentence.

DISCUSSION

The truism that jail neither deters nor rehabilitates the chronic drunkenness offenders has been reiterated in reports and studies in Great Britain and North America for at least a century. A Commission studying Ontario prisons (quoted at the head of this chapter) made the point strongly in 1891 and recommended that jail be replaced with "one or more industrial reformatories for inebriates", specifying that "the institution should be chiefly a hospital having for its main object the reclamation of drunkards and the cure of inebriety" (8 p.219). The implied explanation for the failure of imprisonment in this report, as in many others, is the strength of the offenders' dependence on alcohol. Put simply, their desire for drink outweighs the anticipated pains of imprisonment. This idea is compatible with the "illness" conception of alcoholism and contains sufficient truth to be plausible, especially to the middle-class person who thinks of prison as being highly uncomfortable and humiliating.

The purpose of the foregoing study of Toronto's Don Jail is to bring out a much more complex relationship of imprisonment to the chronic offenders' pattern of life. Knowledge of the life the C.D.O.s lead in jail, taken in conjunction with our knowledge of the life they lead outside, not only helps us to understand why the threat of imprisonment carries little weight, but also provides some clues to the gratifications of jail life, gains that complement and help to perpetuate the Skid Row drinking existence.

The reader who is familiar with jails in other places must decide for himself in what respects the jail described here is atypical. We suspect but cannot prove that the jails of most large Canadian or U.S. cities that resort to frequent arrest and imprisonment of homeless alcoholics are sufficiently alike that they perform broadly the same functions in the revolving door process. We can only speculate about the pattern of survival worked out by Skid Row alcoholics in cities where the probability of imprisonment is very low.

For the jail to be effective as a specific deterrent for C.D.O.s it would have to subject them to an experience so distressing as to cause them either to avoid heavy drinking,

to confine to private places their drinking and their drunken behaviour, or to migrate to a community with a more congenial jail. We have no way of estimating how painful this hypothetical jail experience would have to be but we do know that it would have to compete with the hardships and deprivations of the Skid Row drinking life - in short, a much tougher jail than public opinion would likely tolerate. The contemporary jail described here is not very punitive if judged in terms of relative deprivation. Many aspects of imprisonment are commonly thought of as punishments are not highly painful to the C.D.O.s, for physical hardships and social deprivations are part of their way of life. Furthermore, time blunts the edge of jail's discomforts. They become accustomed to these in course of regular and frequent stays, and come to learn the ways of manipulating the unofficial reward system that helps to make jail an "easy go".

Several points of comparison between the conditions of jail life and the average C.D.O.'s life outside have emerged in the course of this chapter. The least speculative of the comparisons have to do with physical conditions - beds, meals, privacy, and sanitation. When C.D.O. inmates complain of the sleeping and sanitary arrangements, the overcrowding, and lack of recreational facilities in the Don Jail, their standard of comparison tends to be the better facilities afforded by provincial reformatories rather than their daily experience on Skid Row.³⁴ The housing conditions of the jail are far from grim in comparison to hostels and cheap flophouses, and certainly compare favourably with the catch-as-catch-can episodes of sleeping in box cars, doorways, and empty cars. The quality and regularity of the meals, of which the men generally approve, contrasts both with drinking sprees during which most C.D.O.s eat rarely if at all, and with the fare afforded by charitable institutions and cheap restaurants.

³⁴ When asked to compare the Don Jail with other institutions they had known, 66 per cent of the men indicated a preference for Mimico Reformatory (a provincial institution on the outskirts of Toronto where inebriates with sentences longer than 30 days are usually sent). The 5 most frequently mentioned advantages were better recreational facilities, more freedom of movement and fresh air, better living quarters, more varied and plentiful work opportunities, and the regular tobacco issue.

The wearing of prison clothing appears in itself to be a matter of little concern to the C.D.O.s. Whereas the clothing they wear outside tends to be nondescript and sometimes insufficient to keep them warm in winter - and often damaged, dirtied, lost, or bartered during drinking bouts - the prison garb is generally clean and intact. The person who leads a stable life might feel symbolically depersonalized by separation from his own "things" but most C.D.O.s rarely have any enduring personal possessions to which their self-image can be related.

Insofar as the reference group of the regular workers among the C.D.O.s while they are in jail is the inmate population, they can think of themselves as being relatively well-off. The high status workers in particular tend to have access to better accommodation and clothes, more and better smokes and reading material, and extra food. Within the microcosm of the jail they are privileged consumers and therefore less likely to think of themselves as being deprived.

Since the C.D.O.s are dependent on alcohol one might expect them to experience the enforced abstinence that goes with imprisonment as a major deprivation. The evidence points in the other direction. They will, of course, experience craving if they suffer withdrawal symptoms after admission. But once past this stage most appear to have no marked yearning for alcohol. When a subsample of 76 C.D.O.s were asked about this, only 7 (9.2%) stated that they experienced craving while in jail.

A plausible explanation is that those who do not miss alcohol feel less need to drink because jail protects them from the stressful insecurity and unpredictability of life outside. This assumes that the strength of the craving varies directly with the amount of stress they feel and that short-run changes in external circumstances affect the feelings of stress. Many C.D.O.s testify in interviews that they are more likely to turn to the bottle when they are worried about lack of money or a place to stay or when they have particular reason to feel lonely (for instance, at Christmas), and that they can at least postpone drinking when they have a job. The security, routine, and even recognition that go with their prison life appear to do away with some of the tensions they experience outside. In this limited sense one type of dependence is substituted for another.

The situation might also be interpreted in terms of conditioning. Since the C.D.O.s have come to associate jail with the complete absence of alcohol, none of the familiar stimuli of jail evokes craving. It is revealing that some C.D.O.s report the development of craving a few days before they are due to be released, at the time when the return to the drinking environment is experienced in anticipation.

A significant set of deprivations commonly thought of as part of imprisonment stem directly from human relationships. These are the lack of desired responses (love, approval, esteem, etc.) from significant others (the so-called "relational rewards") and the experience of the unwanted responses (withdrawal of love, disapproval, stigmatization, etc.) which serve as negative sanctions. To the ordinary citizen prison means being cut off from family and friends - and thus from key sources of affection and reassurance - and cast among strangers. To the C.D.O. it has a different meaning. Typically he either has no wife and family or has been estranged from them for years. In jail he finds himself among the same men he drinks with on Skid Row or with men so like them as to be interchangeable. Moreover, he and his companions are relatively orderly and well-behaved and engage in a more varied (and in some ways more "normal") range of interactions in jail than they do outside.

Outside, they're kicking it up, dirty,
beat-up, with blackeye, cut lip. In
here, they're sober; they're quiet.

The integration of the group is strengthened by the active observance of the informally developed norms of sharing and reciprocity among members, an activity which is made possible by the reward system. The group is further solidified by the eager gossip about members both inside and out. Socially, jail life affords gratifications not easily available to C.D.O.s outside, a contrast particularly evident in the case of the "loners" who are unwilling or unable to muster companionship when at large.

Outside, I feel sometimes that I
haven't got a friend in the world;
nobody to help me.

Imprisonment means separation from women and thus sexual frustration for most healthy men. A great deal has been written about the situational homosexuality that develops among long-term prisoners and the disruptive rivalries and tensions that ensue. This is obviously less likely in a jail among inmates who are confined for 30 days at the most. It has also been pointed out in this chapter that C.D.O.s tend to be immune to this tension because they are unlikely to have an active sex life outside of jail unless they are of the small minority of chiefly younger men. Since the few sexual contacts with women outside tend to be purely exploitative, separation from such contacts is rarely compounded by feelings of emotional loss.

The role of the jail in relation to stigmatization of the C.D.O.s is paradoxical in that being in jail tends to diminish rather than aggravate their awareness of stigma. The stable working class or middle class person is likely to have to cope with feelings of shame and humiliation when he serves a prison term: for the Skid Row alcoholic the stigmatization of imprisonment is attenuated by repetition over a long period, by the fact that his peers with whom he is in jail constitute his main reference group, by isolation from the invidious judgments of "respectable" people, and by the recognition he receives for his contribution to the prison work system.

Outside of jail the C.D.O.s are inevitably made conscious of the disvalued status of the "wino". They cannot avoid direct contact with the carriers of conventional values, ranging from the casual staring of well-dressed people, through the numerous small symbolic humiliations that come from the authorities and regimens of charitable organizations, to the explicit admission of inferiority that is endemic to the panhandler's role. (It is significant that many C.D.O.s say they cannot bring themselves to panhandle until they have had a few drinks.)

The following statement of a chronic offender indicates the pervasive awareness of stigma that is part of his life outside:

It's not a proud life. There's only one area you can hang around in. If you go out of it you stick out like a sore thumb. You're beat. Everybody in the area's on

the same basis. You're sort of living a hidden life. If you can buy drinks you're a big shot but for guys who drink you can't leave the sheltered area. Everybody looks at the guys in front of the Sally Ann or the Fred Victor Mission as guys who drink and won't work.

- In jail the C.D.O.s are insulated from constant reminders of their low status among respectable citizens. The prison staff are almost the only representatives of legitimate society with whom they interact and they, as we have seen, tend to observe the rules of the modus vivendi. If the C.D.O. is a cooperative person who performs well in one of the regular work roles, or even if he is a "retired" old-timer who has performed valued roles in the past, he receives acceptance and recognition. This is signified not only by the way the guards communicate with him, but also by the unofficial rewards that symbolize approval while contributing to his comfort.

Some fellow prisoners, "young punks" or genuine criminals, may denigrate the C.D.O.s as drunks or sycophants, but their disparaging remarks are not sufficiently frequent or concerted or related to power to outweigh the advantages of staff-C.D.O. cooperation. These non-C.D.O.s do not develop a cohesive inmate social system because they are a heterogeneous and shifting group, most of them in jail for only one occasion or at very infrequent intervals. This is in contrast to the situation of C.D.O.s: although they too serve only short terms, the equivalent of the long-term interaction required for a stable social system is produced by their frequent sentences and by their relative homogeneity in ethnicity, life-style, and values. These similarities mean that the incumbents of roles are interchangeable with a minimum of disruption. But the high turnover works against the consolidation of power among inmates who perform high status jobs, so that there is no threat of anything approaching a "con government" developing among C.D.O.s. The growth in custodial institutions of strong inmate social systems opposed to the staff and conventional society has been seen by several writers as a means of coping with status degradation (5,6,10,12). If this is true, the lack of such a system among C.D.O.s may be due in part to the acceptance and recognition they receive in jail or relative to their life outside. The lack of an oppositional organization also ties in with the finding in one

comparative study that inmate leaders are more likely to support the staff in institutions that are benign (9). The relationship is probably reciprocal in the jail. The guards can feel free to make various concessions, either to reward work performance or simply out of kindness, because doing so is unlikely to encourage a challenge to staff authority or to generate other unwelcome changes.

Given this non-threatening situation, the convergence of several other conditions is also required for emergence of the cooperative staff-inmate social system and the related rewards. One, already mentioned, is the mutual familiarity of more experienced members of the staff and the "regulars" which develops over years of face-to-face interaction. This might breed hostility rather than friendly acceptance if the C.D.O.s were not in many respects model prisoners. One minimum condition they fulfill is that they do not constitute a threat to the orderly persistence of the jail system.³⁵ They are not custody risks and they are neither disobedient nor hostile. Escapes and internal disorders are two potential sources of public criticism of prison administrations in which C.D.O.s are most unlikely to be the villains. A relaxed approach to the C.D.O.s is also facilitated by the pettiness of the offences for which they are convicted. In the words of more than one staff member: "They aren't really criminals". They require little vigilance and merit little punishment.

However, familiarity, tractability, and harmlessness are not enough in themselves to account for the extent of the unofficial reward system described earlier. Also involved is a combination of the functional importance of the "regulars" to the self-maintenance of the jail, and

³⁵ Sykes identifies the major tasks expected of prisons as having the following order of importance for administrators: custody, internal order, self-maintenance (of the prison), punishment, and reform (10, pp. 14-39).

the paucity of official rewards and punishments available to the staff.³⁶ Among staff members it is the men in charge of work crews who are most directly implicated in the development and maintenance of the unofficial reward system. Although crew chiefs are held responsible for the performance of their work crews, they do not command official sanctions strong enough to ensure the requisite effort or to prevent subtle sabotage. The jail has few formal privileges for prisoners that the staff could manipulate as sanctions; there is no payment for work or good behaviour, no remission of sentence ("good time"), no issue of tobacco, and no official recreational opportunities that could be granted or withdrawn. On the negative side, solitary confinement is too serious a penalty to be invoked for laziness, sloppiness, or minor forms of recalcitrance. Large and dramatic concessions on the part of the staff are not required because most C.D.O.s, like prisoners everywhere, find activity more attractive than continual idleness in the corridors and cells. The reward system, though small in scale, is a guarantee of cooperativeness beyond the minimum required to avoid boredom. And because the work is rewarding, the possibility of being deprived of the job can be used as a negative sanction.

The rewards attached to work roles derive from several sources. Some are advantages that are technically necessary for the efficient performance of the job. Workers in some categories require special sleeping quarters because they must come and go at odd hours, but these quarters also happen to be more comfortable, less crowded, and under looser surveillance. The provisions for cleanliness in these same jobs include special clothing issues and showers. Considerable freedom of movement is also required for some jobs.

³⁶ One of the clearest analyses of the pressures on guards to make concessions to inmates is contained in Sykes' study of a maximum security prison (10, pp. 48-62). Because C.D.O.s are markedly less threatening and persuasive than big-time criminals and because the implicit threat they pose is to the adequate performance of work tasks rather than to the maintenance of order, the situation of crew chiefs who deal with them appears to bear a closer resemblance to lower echelon supervisors in industry than penitentiary guards.

A second and closely related source consists of strategic advantages in the access to certain valued goods that are not officially provided, such as extra and perhaps better food, smokes, and reading material, as well as the non-material items of exchange such as news and gossip. A third source is the members of the staff who are in immediate contact with the workers. Indirectly they are involved in the second category of rewards because without their willingness to look the other way some of the traffic in valued goods would be impossible. Directly, they reward workers with cigarettes, food, money and other material benefits from their own resources. But also important, and difficult to assess because intangible, are the approval and acceptance that are both symbolized by these concessions and directly communicated in myriad ways. In short, the jail offers its own version of the rewards that are built into legitimate occupational structures.

The discussion thus far has emphasized the positive aspects of the C.D.O.s' prison experience. It would be dangerous to conclude from this one-sided analysis of relative deprivation that the typical C.D.O. unequivocally enjoys being in jail or that he would be content to remain indefinitely in jail - or even in a more benign total institution. Statements to the effect that the C.D.O.s are "institutionalized" or that jail is their "real home" are misleadingly one-sided in their implications.

Part of the problem of understanding the C.D.O.s' complicated feelings about jail stems from incomplete and conflicting evidence. Our comparison of the conditions of their life outside with the satisfactions of jail life is made from the viewpoint of the observer. On this basis it is tempting to conclude that C.D.O.s "ought to" prefer jail to the chaotic, insecure, stigmatized life they endure on the outside. However, some of the other observational data raise doubts. We know, for example, that C.D.O.s often take considerable pains to avoid arrest when they are on drinking sprees. A state of nervous apprehension about arrest is sufficiently common among them that the term "the cop horrors" has evolved in their subculture to describe the extreme form of this jumpiness. We also know that a majority of C.D.O.s make at least occasional attempts to stay sober and out of trouble. While one cannot isolate a dislike of jail as a motive from the reaction to other "costs" and to the bleak future of their way of life, these efforts to reform are not compatible with the idea of a universal and unambivalent liking for jail life.

The C.D.O.s' stated opinions about jail are also confusing as indicators of the way the majority really feel. When the men were asked an open-ended question about the way they are treated in jail, about one-third (34.2%) indicated unqualified approval and 6.1 per cent unqualified disapproval. The majority of replies were mixed: 44.3 per cent indicated mainly approval and 12.3 per cent mainly disapproval. Only 3.1 per cent gave noncommittal answers or failed to reply at all. The predominance of approving comments is in marked contrast to the unfavourable tenor of their comments on the way C.D.O.s are dealt with by the police and the courts. But approval of the way the jail is run is not itself proof that C.D.O.s enjoy being there, as the following comments illustrate:

I have nothing against this place at all.
I only wish to Christ I wasn't in it. The
food is good and they treat you good,
unless you misbehave or something.

The first time I was scared. I didn't
have no knowledge of jails. Now I'm
getting to feel it doesn't bother me,
walking into jail again. You just do
what you're supposed to and wait for
the sentence to finish. You carry on
a social life - cards, reading, and
gabbing - in jail. You wait for the
time to get out, even though you have
no future and no home.

One not very convincing interpretation is that most C.D.O.s fully enjoy being in jail but will not own up to it because the admission would be damaging to their self-esteem. This ties in with evidence of a strong subcultural strain of hostility to authority which exists among C.D.O.s and presumably reinforces the more general societal norm that no self-respecting person likes being behind bars. Furthermore, individual C.D.O.s are willing to attribute to their fellows attitudes that they disclaim as their own, a process that may involve projection. When

a subsample (145 men) were asked whether "there are some men who feel as if the Don Jail is their real home", 74.5 per cent answered in the affirmative, 8.5 per cent denied that any of their fellows felt this way, and the rest were non-committal. When the affirmative respondents were asked to specify further what sort of men felt that jail was their real home, three types predominated in their answers - older C.D.O.s, the hard core of "regulars" who were most frequently in jail, and C.D.O.s who were lazy, unambitious, or otherwise lacking in motivation. The replies imply that feeling at home in jail is associated with being "far gone", with a resignation that is part of a late stage in the revolving door process.

Hence, the idea of being at home in jail arouses anxiety in many men, as indicated in the comment of a C.D.O. who was more perceptive about this than most:

I have a strong suspicion that I've become institutionalized. I have a fear that it doesn't bother me about going to jail. Little difference whether I'm inside or outside; that's what it's getting to be.

Only a minority of the men - most of whom are in fact "far gone" in terms of recidivism, age, or years of involvement³⁷ - will admit without qualification that they like being in jail:

³⁷ This is based on an examination of the individual case histories. However, a statistical test of relationship between expressed attitudes to the jail and selected characteristics indicated that the following are less likely to be among those making unfavourable comments: men over 44 years of age; men who expressed pessimism about their future; men who had not had criminal careers ("pure drunks"); and men who were not integrated in Skid Row society.

For myself, it's the best thing for me. You get rundown and come in here and after a week you straighten up. When they sentence you they are keeping you off the street. They stop you from becoming an alcoholic. I don't mind being sent in. I straighten up and its a rest here from pulling that damn old wagon. I went to Mimico for two months once and I really enjoyed it out there.

But a surprising number of the comments indicate that the men themselves assess jail on the basis of relative deprivation. In effect they say that they would prefer not to be Skid Row alcoholics or homeless and jobless, but given the fact that they are jail is not unwelcome refuge though it is not in itself desirable.

I shouldn't be here. I should be living a life worth living rather than be in jail. With the insecurity I have outside, I'm almost as well off here for security. I get a roof over my head and a bite to eat and that's all I'm getting outside - but I'd rather be outside with security.

Some fellows want to get back in again. Some fellows like myself get disgusted and drink. It's a rough life walking the streets. Jail is like an emergency shelter.

However, an explanation of the average C.D.O.'s adaptation to jail life as simply a product of relative deprivation does not take adequate account of the cyclical pattern. The C.D.O.s do not adapt either to jail life or to Skid Row drinking by itself, but to an alternation of the two (punctuated occasionally by attempts to "go straight").

It is worthwhile to consider in what respects the two sets of experience are complementary and thus mutually reinforcing. Each pattern may meet different "needs" of the participants and each may contribute to the creation or accentuation of "needs" that, in the given situation, can only be met by the other.

The dangers in imputing "needs" to individuals or social systems are well known. While it is often plausible to infer a "need" from the existence of behaviour or social relationships that appear to serve a given end, this is not proof that the persistence or stability of the unit under consideration is really at stake. Unfortunately, the data at hand do not allow us to verify empirically propositions about the "needs" of the C.D.O.s. The best we can do under the circumstances is to speculate about the complementary functions of the two ways of life and suggest ways of interpreting their mutual reinforcement.

First, it should be noted that the alternation of periods of responsible mundane activity and periods of hedonistic release are fairly common in human societies, although the periods of license are generally more closely circumscribed and more socially acceptable than the C.D.O.s' drinking episodes. The "Saturday night and Sunday morning" pattern found in some sectors of the working class and lower class is an example, as is some of the behaviour permitted at conventions of businessmen and fraternal orders. Similarly, the "whooping it up" of soldiers and sailors on leave or bush workers who have come to town is regarded as understandable and tolerable within limits. The examples that come to mind seem to confirm the common-sense belief that the pressure for orgiastic release is increased by prolonged frustration. Where the frustrations are engendered by sustained, highly disciplined and socially confining work, the tendency of others to tolerate subsequent hedonistic and expressive behaviour appears to be enhanced by the belief that the individual has "earned" the privilege.

The jail can be regarded as the workaday life of C.D.O.s - one that imposes considerable discipline and severe limits on hedonistic gratification. If the parallel is valid, the experience should augment significantly the urge to start drinking after release from jail. Conversely, the prospect of being arrested and jailed, which C.D.O.s come through experience to accept as the inevitable outcome of drinking sprees, may contribute to the irresponsibility of the period of

license. The need to make long-run provision for shelter or eating regularly or to worry about the other deleterious consequences of indefinitely prolonged heavy drinking, is alleviated by the prospect of arrest. There is plausibility in the reply of a C.D.O. to a question about the effect on C.D.O.s if the police ceased to arrest them: "In 6 months half of us would have gone straight and half of us would be dead".

The C.D.O.s' period of license, however, is distinguished by the weakness of its claim to legitimacy. Time served in jail does not earn the tolerance that accrues from time spent at demanding or boring work roles. The C.D.O.s' contribution to the jail economy is hidden from view and if known would appear to be carried out under duress. One would expect this lack of cultural legitimation to create a problem of adjustment for C.D.O.s in the form of a need to justify their behaviour to themselves. At a level that can be verbalized by the C.D.O.s this tends to encourage what Sykes and Matza have called "techniques of neutralization"(11) - shared rationalizations that pave the way for deviant behaviour. C.D.O.s argue in a variety of ways that they are victims of misfortune. They drink because of loneliness, joblessness, lack of a place to live, and other uncertainties that are their lot in life - in other words, as a necessary escape rather than for enjoyment.

Surprisingly, they do not often explicitly volunteer alcoholism as an excuse for their behaviour despite the considerable acceptance of the illness conception as legitimation in the larger society. It may be that their investment in the belief that they could stop drinking if they had jobs or other major things they lack is so strong that they find it difficult to categorize themselves as persons with a dependence beyond their control.

At a deeper level the "punishment" of imprisonment may serve as a "licence to transgress". Jail may not be very painful to C.D.O.s and may even be welcomed by them but it is still formally defined and generally regarded as punishment in our society. We suggest that it is psychologically expedient for C.D.O.s to subscribe to this definition. If it is defined as justified punishment it helps to relieve guilt engendered by the last drinking episode. But C.D.O.s tend to go further and regard the

punishment as unjust. They are likely to argue that the police discriminate against them and persecute them (see Chapter II) and that the courts are arbitrary and much too severe (see Chapter V). They are, in short, punished more frequently and more harshly than they deserve. According to the psychoanalytic interpretation of (among others) Alexander and Staub (1), punishment may free the individual from restraints where it has this psychological meaning:

What is called social order means just the equilibrium between the renunciation of instinctual demands and the assured gratification; it is a sort of a contract between the powers which restrict our instinctual expression and the instinctual demands of the individual. The very sensitive, emotional regulator of this equilibrium is the sense of justice..... Man senses with astounding precision when his acquired right (and each right was once acquired) is in some way threatened or diminished; to each violation of his right, he reacts with strong notice that the contract has been violated; this he does by means of freeing himself from some of the restrictions of his instinctual life which he heretofore accepted. Thus a regression takes place; man regresses from instinctual inhibition to instinctual expression. (1, pp. 8-9).

We may then describe the regressive phenomenon which takes place in case of injury to the sense of justice as a process in which the Superego loses its inhibitory power over the Ego; the Ego then unopposed follows the tendencies of the Id. The remarkable thing in this, like in any other regressive phenomena, is the tendency to expand. The injustice may be related to a very insignificant matter, but the reactive breaking-through of repressed impulses not infrequently upsets the oldest and most fundamental cultural restrictions (1, p.40).

Scientific proof of these propositions would be difficult to adduce but like many psychoanalytic generalizations about psychic processes they evoke a subjective resonance. If we accept them, the "unjustified" punishment of C.D.O.s can be said to contribute specifically to the inertia of the revolving door by weakening inhibiting effects of the Superego (or conscience or internalized moral standards) on the behaviour of the offenders when they are released from jail. This increases the probability of their succumbing to the temptations of the Skid Row drinking milieu and diminishes the motivation to attempt to go straight. Or, put in terms of legitimation, the "licence to transgress" thus provided is a psychic substitute for cultural tolerance.

The concept of regression contained in Alexander and Staub's formulation may have further implications for the role of the jail. The C.D.O.s pattern of life contains parallels to childhood that might be interpreted as a return to earlier satisfactions.³⁸ The extraordinarily non-responsible adaptation of the C.D.O.s outside of jail bears a resemblance to the freedom from adult obligations granted to children. They escape the onerous duties of occupational and parental roles...as well as the satisfactions. Their drinking peer groups share with play groups of small children superficial emotional attachments, frequent movement, shifting alliances, and easy substitution of individuals. Prison might be regarded as a surrogate family catering to the dependency needs that come to the fore in regression. It provides nurture, shelter, father figures (staff), and permissiveness in a degree, including a welcome to the prodigal son on his return. The demands that it places on the men are well within their capacities, like the age-graded demands of the normal family. But unlike the family the jail does not gradually raise its expectations to encourage higher levels of maturity. It unwittingly encourages dependency as a long-term adjustment.

³⁸ If we wished to be especially fanciful, the central place of drinking might be interpreted as regression to infantile orality.

Another formulation that might have relevance for understanding the complementarity of jail and Skid Row is contained in Talcott Parson's paradigm of the genesis of deviance (7, ch. 7). Briefly (and without doing justice to the complexities of the argument) a major axis in his classification of the directions of deviance depends on the idea that deviation from expectations of persons to whom one is emotionally attached or from internalized normative patterns leads to motivational ambivalence. The negative component of the motivation he identifies as an "alienative need-disposition", and the positive as a "conformative need-disposition". One side will become dominant in the subsequent deviance and will tend to become compulsive as a means of repressing the other. However, certain concrete solutions may relieve the ambivalence by allowing the individual to express both sides. One solution, Parsons points out, is to become a member of a deviant group, the example he uses being a criminal or delinquent gang:

...the deviant is thereby enabled to act out both the conformative and alienative components of his ambivalent motivational structure. To do this he must of course make the substitution of the pattern of the deviant sub-culture for that of the main social system. But having done this he can be compulsively conformative within the deviant sub-group at the same time that he is compulsively alienated from the main institutional structure (7, p.286).

Skid Row drinking groups might appear on the surface to satisfy both need-dispositions simultaneously. However, these loosely organized groups manifest such a limited demand for conformity - especially in comparison with juvenile gangs - that they do not appear capable of satisfying a compulsive motivation to conformity. A more likely interpretation is that the two need-dispositions (assuming they exist) may be satisfied consecutively rather than concurrently by the jail-Skid Row cycle. The jail life described here contains sufficient parallels with responsible civilian behaviour that it could conceivably satisfy

a conformative need-disposition. Conversely, the irresponsible deviant behaviour of the alcoholic on Skid Row could satisfy an alienative need-disposition. Thus jail may contribute to the stability of the Skid Row alcoholics' adjustment by providing the opportunity for them to be alternately conformists and rebels without effort or planning.

Enough has been said to illustrate that the complementarity of the C.D.O.s' jail and Skid Row patterns of life fits several theoretical interpretations. It lends weight to the proposition that the offenders' adjustment to jail is not simply a matter of relative deprivation but rather that they become attuned to the alternation of the two patterns. Probably the men would find either prison life or their disorganized Skid Row drinking existence insupportable separately as a long-term adjustment.

They get out of jail all rested up
and no money and no place to go.
They meet some friends from jail,
go on a drunk and are in jail again.
I feel that the missions and the jails
just just prolong this drinking. If
they didn't have that to fall back
on, they'd have to work and it would
be better for all concerned. The men
get institutionalized.

Jail also plays an important part in the recruitment of new members to the C.D.O. population. Although this study has focussed on the role of jail in the current lives of full-fledged C.D.O.s, ways in which it contributes to the process of becoming enmeshed are apparent. Jail provides the vulnerable newcomer, the man with at least incipient patterns of heavy drinking and alienation, with a unique opportunity to become acquainted with others like himself under conditions of prolonged contact. If you ask a C.D.O. with whom he drinks, he is likely to answer: "With guys I know from jail". In getting to know his potential peers the newcomer becomes acquainted with their attitudes and their practical knowledge of Skid Row. Without the jail, the socialization of newcomers to Skid Row drinking society would be considerably less efficient and the subculture itself would be less integrated.

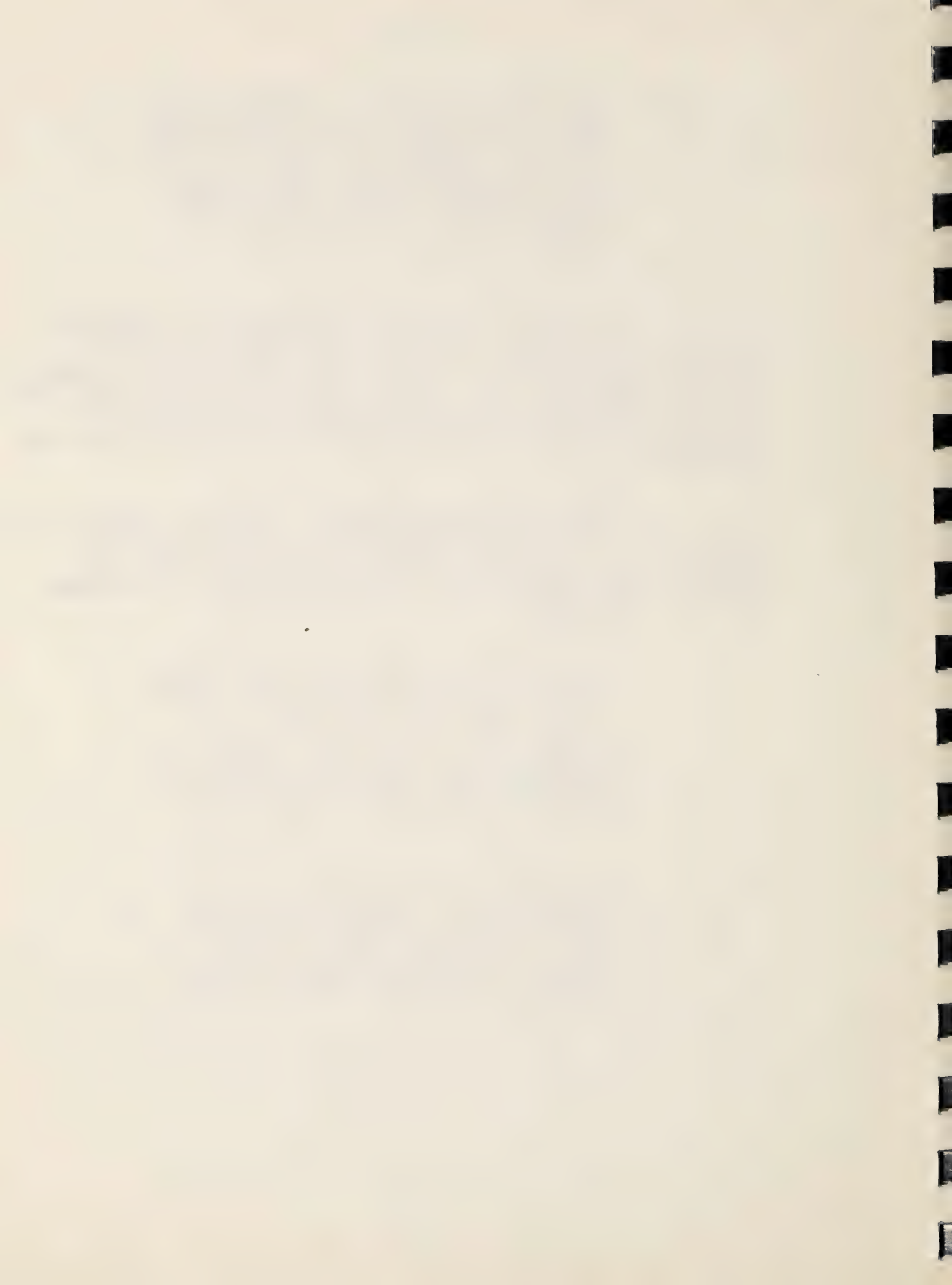
Well, I'll tell you - if they didn't put you in jail I think they'd come out of it themselves. They might go on a spree once in a while but they would come out of it. Jail never cured anybody; it just makes them worse.

Going to jail also contributes in practical terms to the vicious circle of cumulative alienation. A first offender who is sent to jail because he is unable to pay a fine may, as a result, lose a job or a room, and it may contribute to his estrangement from family and friends - so that he emerges with more problems than when he entered.

The jail pictured here, like most others, does nothing by way of "social repair", even for the first offender. It provides neither clothes nor money nor referrals that would help him with employment, lodging, or other problems.

You go out of here, you got nowhere to go, no one to back you up. Some of the guys go out of here - it's pretty bad. You go out of here looking like a bum. You don't get anything when you go out of here - you don't even get a thank you.

When guys leave here they have no place to go - 70 per cent of the guys here have no home, no work to do. They get the price for a bottle of wine and they're right back in.



A critical juncture is reached when the only place the offender can go on release is to Skid Row, and a drink becomes easier to secure than the necessities of life. At this point, with the help of the jail, he is trapped in the revolving door.

The end result is described with emotion by a C.D.O. who is discussing men who feel at home in jail and in the course of his reply sees the writing on the wall:

There would be quite a few. About 75, between this and Mimico. They're institutionalized. They're hooked. And they can do it to all of us, if they keep pinching us. They can kill all your initiative so you can't make decisions. Everything for so many years is done for you. That's why a lot of them keep getting pinched, they don't know how to behave when they get out. They're lost, they've lost contact. I can see it happening to me. I'm glad the question came up.

APPENDIX

SPEAKING FOR THEMSELVES: EXCERPTS FROM INTERVIEWS

The generalizations about jail in this chapter inevitably do injustice to diversity. Our concern with the adjustment of the typical hard-core C.D.O. has meant a selection of general patterns modal among men who have become fully involved in the revolving door. Even this hard-core group contains individuals whose behaviour and stated opinions differ from the norm. In addition, the jail population of men who have three or more convictions in a year, and thus formally qualify as C.D.O.s, includes men who have entered the ranks more recently and still remain marginal ... and critical. Excerpts from the answers to a few selected interview questions may help to give some impression of the range of variation. There is, of course no one-to-one relationship between interview replies and actual attitudes or behaviour. For example, some men who vehemently deny that any C.D.O.s come to regard jail as their real home are men often identified by others as exemplars of this adjustment.

Jail as Home

The following statements were elicited in answer to the question: "Do you think that there are some men who feel as if the Don Jail is their real home? Affirmative replies led where necessary to the further question: "What sort of men are they?"

No. They all want to get out of here.
No man with common sense wants to stay here.

Well, I don't know of any man that feels that way. Quite possibly it is their home but they don't realize it - they would never admit it. I mean it is quite possible to become institutionalized without realizing it.

I hear tell of men like this. I never really met any myself. Some guys seem to have given up on life outside. I guess that's their problem.

Yes. A few I know who spend most of their time in here - only out a day or two and then back in. A fellow here phoned in to see how they were getting along without him in the laundry. He was back in the next day. A fellow at Mimico thinks he owns the chicken farm. They're in a rut. Outside they're lost and don't know how to mix with people. Everything is done for them inside and when they get out they don't know where to turn.

Lots of men relax in here. It's their home. They are like a haunted animal. Here they are safe. They can play cards, eat, sleep, see friends. The cruisers badger them on the streets. It's a game with some policemen. It's like hunting down a wounded animal for some of the police ... it seems they can't adapt themselves outside any longer. They are at the stage where their appearance is against them getting work. In their way they are trying to get away from the bottle. In

here they work, they are industrious, they are happy ... I can say without hesitation that the same men are here whenever I come. The same 3 to 500 men keep coming back.

Yeh, plenty. Some of them are not bad men but there's nothing left on the outside - no home or family or friends. Some of them don't seem to care whether they're in or out. They've been in so much they seem to have lost all contact with the outside. They've been picked up so often they've just thrown in the sponge, that's all.

Some of them are making it their home. They just seem to be coming back. They're not alcoholics, they're not out long enough - a couple of hours. Some are in the pink of condition. If you start using jail as a boarding house, you're at the end of the rung.

What would you say, no ambition I guess. I'd think they don't even try to look for work ... they go no place, have no place to go and their friends are in here so they got to be with their friends. When one is picked up, it's not long after that the friends are in, it seems to me.

I'll tell you the real truth: I think some of them - especially in the winter time - like to stay in out of the cold when they haven't got a home. I think some of them don't mind getting pinched and coming in for a month or so.

Oh yes? They're men with no initiative or perfectly content to let other men make their decisions - same men that depend on us for their drinks outside. Depend on us for counsel. They've lost all initiative.

Yes. They don't have no more ambition. They don't want help. They're ignorant, they're stupid, or mad. You can't talk with them, they want that low life.

Yes - that's a pretty good question. They're repeaters. They've been in so often they begin to feel at home. They get the same jobs. They're too familiar with the guards. The guards give them smokes. You think: what the hell, are you a squealer or something? They've hardly ever worked in their lives and have no intention of it. They'll work in here but not outside ... they go round with big smiles.

Attitudes to the Jail Staff

The majority of the interviewees indicated general approval of the way that members of the staff treated C.D.O. inmates, although many qualified this with criticism of some guards who were thought to be curt, abusive, or contemptuous. This sensitivity to demeaning treatment is reflected in the complaints of the minority who expressed unqualified disapproval. In general, the staff were not regarded as responsible for the overall system; they were simply "doing their job". The police and the courts were blamed for the pattern of frequent arrest and incarceration; undesignated others for the overcrowding and lack of facilities in the jail. The excerpts are from replies to the question; "What do you think about the way men who get drunk are treated by the jail authorities in Toronto?"

Very good. I believe they are too good to some of the men in here.

There's nothing I can complain about. There isn't one guard in here from Mr. D---- (the governor) to the newest guard I can't get along with. I've never been in trouble here all these years. I've never seen a guard who might not be sociable. Some are a little tough at first when new but later become sociable. Most of them are easy to get along with. Only thing I have against the jail is I don't like being in here, but that's only natural.

This place is alright as far as I can see. I know its not a very nice place to be in - but they treat us pretty good.

I'd say good. If a fellow tries to get along good with the guards, they'll treat him good and give him a break. That is, most of the guards. I'd say they're treated pretty good here at the Don.

We have a lot of good guards here and some who aren't. The older chaps are pretty nice to get along with. Some of the younger ones do a lot of barking; they don't know how to handle men. I'm used to different guards and you learn to handle yourself accordingly not to lose good time.

Right now, it's good. There are the odd 3 or 4 fellows who are a little rough - but I can't say anything against them. There's always a bad apple in every barrel. It's just the building that gets me down.

Different jails are different. Take Guelph; a lot of young shit-disturbers, you got to be more strict. Mimico, however, if you behave yourself they'll never bother you. If you're out of line, you get. They're a bunch of gentlemen. Burch Rapids are a bunch of phonies. Don Jail isn't bad. They've never bothered me. I've never had a severe word from any of them.

They treat me just like everybody else. I'm here to do my time and the best way is to stay out of trouble. They're not the ones to blame for me being sent here. I never had much to do with the guards, just the one I work for, Mr. G--- in the gardening. He's a good guy as far as I'm concerned.

I've been treated alright here. Better than you expect. Of course, you get into arguments sometimes, but the work's got to be done, the guards can't do it. What you get, you bring on yourself. I've been kicked in the behind.

I don't think anyone gets mistreated in here. As far as I'm concerned it's good. Everyone may not have it as good as me though. The only improvement I can see is to make tobacco available... I get what I want to eat. Its payment for my work.

Some [guards] are no damn good at all. They treat some guys as if they were animals. The two guys where you check in treat you like a dog. I always do alright because I do as I'm told.

They don't talk to you very good, they're sarcastic but I guess they don't mean anything. They don't ask you nicely but I just do it anyways.

Well, they're pretty good. They treat you better than they would a criminal. Naturally they get their way. In other words you're treated pretty good ... What the hell, most of them figure he's just a drunk, he's not going to do anything.

In here the criminals have it better than the drunk. I'm in 1c in the New Building. I look after 3 lifers, a murderer on remand, 2 rape artists doing 6 years apiece - and I clean and sweep for them. They have it good in here. If we drunks weren't in here they couldn't run the jail. The police and the guards are in cahoots.

They just take the attitude that the drunks are derelicts and bums. Not all of them, the guards, but the majority, a good percentage. Rough in their speech. They go out of their way to cause discomforts, like scrubbing the floor 2 or 3 hours for petty offences like loud talking or standing on a bench looking out the window.

I think they're very ignorant. They don't know how to handle men sometimes. There are a few good guards in here. Some are poor types - they tease and bait the men. Some bully and abuse their position. They don't treat you like a man sometimes.

Well, not very good. They push you around - throw you here, throw you there - especially with drunks. That's all I can say - they don't treat you very well and I really think that's got a lot to do with a man's drinking.

This place is one of the worst I've ever been in and I've been in a lot. This is the worst. Jeez, they treat you like dogs here. Look at the doctor - I'm not supposed to work and he won't even listen to me. It doesn't make any difference to him.

The Job System: Ranking, Rewards, and Recruitment

The analysis of the hierarchical ranking of inmate jobs in the jail was based on observational evidence as well as replies to interview questions. The question, "What are the best jobs in the jail?" elicited replies that without additional evidence would have yielded a chaotic picture of the way jobs are ranked. The men understandably tended to verbalize the concrete advantages of specific jobs that were known and available to them, instead of viewing the system as a whole as a prestige hierarchy. A common element in the replies to the follow-up question, "Who gets these jobs?" was that long-term repeaters acquired a right to the jobs, but the selection was interpreted either as a deserved reward for trustworthiness, unmerited favoritism, or the fruits of sycophancy, depending to a large degree on the interviewee's role in the work system. And, while many men indicated in their replies a preference for working, a few were strongly negative.

It depends a lot on what you like. Some Guys like the kitchen but I can't see lugging those heavy trays around. A guard has a lot to do with how you like it. Some of them like to roar but I don't mind - they don't mean any harm. They probably get yelled at at home anyways.

I think the corridor man's job is the best but then that's just my opinion - lots of guys think the kitchen is the best.

The kitchen is good. Working for the governor is good. Best is the gang outside cutting the grass. People chuck you smokes out of cars. You have to overcome the feeling of being looked at by people.

I'd say the best job in the jail is the staff waiter (guard room) - he caters to the guards, like a runner. He has a burner in there for tea and coffee.

The best job of all here is in the kitchen - it's clean and you always got something to occupy your mind.

I'd take a corridor man job in certain floors. I wouldn't take corridors 7 and 8 or 1 and 12. They're not men who have much tobacco money so there's no percentage in working in those corridors. The New Wing - remands or Kingston - they're fine for tobacco and paper. There are decent butts around and tobacco.

Well, there's one of the best jobs - the orderlies in here (the hospital) and the man who works in here. There's good jobs in the kitchen - you get more to eat. Scrubbing is no good. Firing is a good job - the engineer doesn't do them too bad. They get extra tobacco and they get a payoff.

I like working in the kitchen. Time goes a little better - it's like working an 8 hour day. You get a better night's sleep too - you're not as crowded - the kitchen help is over in the dormitory. You get a single bed instead of a double bunk.

If a man has enough money for his own tobacco and doesn't have to depend on others, then a corridor man in the other building (New Wing) is one of the best. He gets his own cell in the corridor. He can read all night.

The boiler room, the laundry room, the kitchen, and the admittance corridor are about the same. The stores is pretty good. If you're on the scrub gang, that's terrible.

As far as I can see, the dishwashing job. There's nothing heavy about it. Just put the dishes through and clean up the machine after. There's 3 men on the dishwasher - I'm one of them.

The scrub gang I don't like. They'll make you scrub the same section 5 or 6 times. Some guards will put white powder on the floor just to make it tough for you.

I never seen a job in the jail that was good. I think a job where a man can get something for the stomach, for example a cup of coffee. There are some jobs in here where there's a pot of coffee, like in the guards' room.

You couldn't find a better job than to be corridor man for those big-shots, robbers, and stealers. They have money. There you wake up at 6:30 and the only thing you do is pick up the dishes and mop the floors. There's always lots of cigarette butts on the floor there. Where the drunks are there's nothing.

The kitchen, the garden, painting - any job that keeps you busy and helps time pass.

These jobs (best jobs) are taken by permanent people. The governor's house, the deputy's house, down in the guards' room - there you get a pot of tea whenever you like, a little better grub ... the staff barber. Certain people get it.

The reason I done this - got in the kitchen - is to get something to smoke. The other guys are in a corridor and all they get is a pail and a brush, to scrub for 2 or 3 hours in the morning ... and also the time goes much faster working in the kitchen.

Each group usually groups together but can't move from one place to another. That's a privilege I have. I don't abuse it; I been doing it so long now.

The boiler room, the engineers. They don't kill them with work and they get a few privileges: tea, extra food, smokes - but you can't mention it.

Cooking for the guards is almost the best job, making tea for them. There've been 2 or 3 steady men there for the past 5 years. You have to pay them off to get that job.

The barber's job. The man who works at the governor's house. The men who work on cars at the back. The regular pets who are in all the time get those jobs. The man in the laundry and the butcher have been in for years, and always come right back as soon as they get out.

Somebody that's either had it before (gets selected) or that they know and can trust. There's a certain amount of freedom and they have to trust you.

It's hard to get a job. They have so many repeaters who keep getting the jobs that you have to be lucky. I once got fired from the kitchen for stealing a glass of milk - it was going to be thrown out.

I don't think there are any good jobs in the jail. There is no incentive to do anything in jail. I find the painting as much my end as anything. I detest scrubbing.

When a man's a repeater in here he stands a good chance to get the same job again, unless he gets in wrong with a couple of guards. It's pretty well automatic. A lot of guys are called for in the kitchen or boiler room. I know several that are right back in the same job right away as soon as they come back in.

No, I don't. There are certain guys who seem to be part and parcel of the set-up - we call them wheels - because they've been in so long. They don't work outside so they work in. Me, I'll work outside if I work.

Some crews are hard to get on - you have to be known. Kitchen is the easiest; that's why I do it.

There are departments in here that are pet "goes". The kitchen is one. There's guys in here who are afraid to stay out for more than one day because they're afraid to lose their job. If they'd work as hard at it outside they'd be alright. There's a few of them like that. They're really a case for a psychiatrist.

Lots of men won't take work. They feel they've been arrested unfairly and won't work. I'll work if I can. My hernia gives me trouble, also my knee, but I won't go up to the Annex - the guys there are really off.

The repeaters get the jobs. Last year in No. 8 Corridor they asked for help in the kitchen and I stepped forward. They put me in whites. I wasn't in whites for one day when one of the oldtimers came back and I was back to carrying trays.

I'm a corridor man but I've had offers to go to the kitchen. Those guards - if you're a good worker and they know it they give you jobs. You don't have to except for scrubbing - but even then you don't work too hard.

The good jobs go to old-timers. The guards get to know us. They have to have us to keep the jail going. J--- (his crew chief) will send out the call for us guys to be pinched when he needs a man.

They usually take the same men all the time - the repeaters...I never volunteer here in the jail. I didn't come here to work, why should I volunteer. These repeaters are breaking their necks to get the same job. If I volunteer and I work out, as soon as I come in I'll be back in (the work crew) again.

Becoming Acclimatized to Jail

About 40 per cent of replies to the question, "Has the way you feel about being in jail changed much since the first time?" and the follow-up question, "How has it changed?" took the predicted form. These men indicated that they had become more reconciled to jail and did easier time. However, an almost equal proportion contended that their reactions had not changed significantly. With most of them this took the form of a denial that jail was an acceptable experience for them at any time, although a few stated that jail had never bothered them much. About 13 per cent, taking as their point of reference their more recent history, asserted that they now found imprisonment increasingly hard to endure.

I felt pretty bad about it first time.
I take it more as a matter of course
now, its happened so regularly to me.
It's a matter of being indifferent.
It doesn't seem to matter if I'm in
or out.

I didn't like it then - I was ashamed.
I have no people to be concerned about
me now, so I don't care much about it.
I'm not afraid of it. It doesn't stop
me drinking any.

It used to be I used to worry. It's
gotten now it's routine with me. I
used to have a fear and a horror of
jails. Now it doesn't bother me at
all. I wouldn't like 10 or 20 years,
but 2 months isn't so bad.

When you're young you don't know what
to expect the first few times. But
I've lost the fear of it I used to
have. Familiarity breeds contempt,
they say. There's still fear but not
to the same extent. I still don't like
doing time. I never liked it.

The first time I felt jittery, fearful
of what it would be like. Now I'm no
longer fearful and jittery. I sort of
accept it, although I'm determined not
to go back to jail again for anything
but being drunk.

No different. I still feel I have to do what I'm told. It doesn't bother me at all. If I was out I'd be sitting alone in my room. In here I have some company.

I have never liked it. I got no use for it. It's not human. I didn't like it then; I have no use for it now.

It's harder to serve time now. I was hopeful then - even up to 5 years ago. Now I'm nervous and I serve time very hard. I have no hope.

The more time you do, the worse it gets. You get more bored. It gets on your nerves. You've seen it all, you know it all.

I can't do time like I use to. It's harder each time. My health is poor and that. I didn't mind it when I was younger. It did me good to get in here and get straightened out.

Comparison of the Don Jail and Mimico Reformatory

Replies to the question, "How does the Don Jail compare with Mimico or other places you've been in?" conformed to the predicted pattern. Most of the men had served time in the provincial reformatory and found it greatly preferable. What we were not prepared for was the extent of the men's enthusiasm for Mimico Reformatory. This points up the dilemma raised by the secular trend to more benevolent correctional institutions with better facilities. If ill-equipped and crowded institutions like the Don Jail can play the role outlined here in perpetuating the C.D.O. pattern of life, what will be the consequence of more comfortable and enjoyable persons unless countervailing rehabilitative forces are set in motion? It should also be noted that the few men (1.3%) who reacted favourably to the Don Jail used other county jails rather than the reformatory as their standard of comparison.

The Don is better than Chatham and London 'cause the food is better - I'd say it was 4 times better.

I don't know. The Don and Mimico are almost alike. Right now to me in the kitchen time goes so I don't mind it too much. The same when I was in Monteith, I was working on the farm there.

The Don don't compare to Mimico. They've got nice tables to sit down and eat. You get showers regularly. You're out in the open - you have more freedom. They've got shows, sports, better and healthier sleeping quarters, better recreation, bacon and eggs, butter. Oh yes! tobacco and papers. Money, too!

Mimico is just the same as a home. You got more freedom in there - if you act in a sensible way. In here you got no freedom. No other differences - this place is good for a county jail ... when I get out of Mimico I feel alright. When I come out of here I don't feel so good. I don't have a job and no money and no place to go.

I like Mimico much better. It hasn't got that confinement. You can work at something during the day. You eat and sleep better. Time goes faster. Here you don't get enough exercise. They treat you more like a person out in Mimico; here they treat you like bloody cattle.

Mimico is far better. You get money when you get out of there. I got \$3.50 for 2 months. The clothes are clean. Everybody's got a job. You're not locked up in cells ... radio, all kinds of reading, free tobacco.

There's no comparison to Mimico - different environment altogether. In Mimico there's a radio in each dorm. The dorms are laid out like hospital wards. They wake you at 6:30 a.m. with music. As different as living in a home and in a garage. They give you tobacco. Even your medical is better out there.

In plain English, it (the Don Jail) is no fucking good. It's been condemned so many times it's fit for a museum. I've known farmers wouldn't keep their pigs in some of the corridors. If I had an option I'd take six months in Mimico rather than 40 days here.

Out of Don Jail you are dead. You feel the same way as you came in. But Mimico - you want to go-go; you're like a racehorse, you're fresh and you feel good.

Feelings on Release from Jail

The culturally expected reply to the question, "How do you usually feel just after you get out of jail?" would be an expression of relief or joy. Such feelings were expressed unequivocally in only 29 per cent of the C.D.O.s' replies. A theme that ran through many other replies and dominated in 30 per cent was anxiety blending into defeatism. These men said they were preoccupied on release with the immediate problems presented by their homelessness, lack of money and jobs, lack of family and friends, their craving for alcohol, and their vulnerability to arrest. The objective difficulties and attendant anxieties portrayed in these answers, point to the crucial role in the Skid Row-jail cycle of the period immediately following release. According to the statements of many offenders, these few days or hours are the most difficult passage they must navigate.

Most of the remainder of the men did not answer the question as asked. A large number chose to confine themselves to commendable resolves or plans for the period following their forthcoming release.

I feel excited about being a free man. I have no fears of any kind. I wouldn't be human if I wasn't content - I've paid my debt to society.

I am happy. I am hopeful of finding work. I am relieved. It's as if everything is opening up for me new.

You're overjoyed. You're happy at getting your freedom. I like to walk around and see what new buildings there are. I'm always interested in new buildings.

I feel I'll never go back. I'm happy when I get out each time. Last time I figured I'd get out of the District altogether but the work wasn't coming in the way I wanted. There was only two or two and a half days work a week, so I felt I couldn't go to a better district.

You feel like you're going to do something but the plan never works out. It seems you always run into someone you know. Like yesterday, this guy left here, he was going to Sudbury. He's back in today.

I usually feel good physically and I feel good mentally too but if you don't get anything then you don't feel so good ... You make the old vow. But this time I'm not looking back, I'm going to keep going.

Very relieved. I want to get out of Toronto. There's no point coming to Toronto and getting run in every time I come down here.

I feel that I've paid my penalty and I feel that I should try to go straight and try to keep away from drinking. If I stole something and went to jail it would be different. But they sell it to us and then make us go to jail for it. I don't see any sense in it.

I feel free again - go where you like, do what you please. You have that ~~yes~~ coming over you to get out and have a drink. Once you get out for a month or two you have a better chance - it's most difficult to get past the first 2 days.

I feel happy. Then when I hit the street my outlook is pretty desperate. I look for a drink. I know I'm in wrong with the Welfare, I can't get a job, so I try to escape and take a drink. It's wrong, I know, but you do it anyway.

I'm sort of worried until I find out where I'm going to sleep. I don't feel bad after I know I've got a bed. It's nice to be free.

Well, a happy feeling when you first get out but then you have troubles - a place to go, a room. Pretty tough! Every time you think of being in here you're glad you're out. Then you got to hustle around and try to make a living.

It just depends. Kind of nervous, I guess. You don't feel any better. You got no place to go. Like I say - it's a rat race. Most of us could be charged with vagrancy.

You have to start all over again when you get out. You start to wonder whether it's worth it all.

You have concern. You don't know where you'll sleep that night. You worry. I can go to the Salvation Army for a bed. They make it good for a night or so. But I prefer to make it on my own, if I can.

A little nervous. Slightly undecided. You've got to make a decision on what you're going to do. You leave the jail classified as a vagrant - you're broke. If you hit the wrong officer, you can come right back in here. That's why

possibly you try to go to a Catholic priest or a Church of England minister to look for some assistance.

I feel good - that is out of Mimico. But here - I don't feel so good. What I mean is you don't get the exercise. I'd hate to do a hard day's work right after getting out of here. You feel kind of depressed. You don't know what to do, where to go, how to make the right start.

I start getting scared the night before. I know I've nothing to go to. I know I'll get pinched again. I get a fear within me every time I see a cruiser. The only friends we have are down on Skid Row. You go down there and you'll get pinched again. It's not a fear about missing meals or having no place to sleep. It's the fear of getting pinched again.

It used to be something to look forward to. Now it's just a formality. It used to be, the night before I could hardly sleep. Now I don't care. I don't know where I'm gonna sleep, or what I'm gonna do.

I feel about the same as getting out of church or going out of home. I feel free in here because I keep to the rules and mind my own business.

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THE CHRONIC DRUNKENNESS OFFENDER

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